

## **Flinders: The Final Years: 1810-1814**

An abstract of Capt. Matthew Flinders' R.N. Journal with comments

by Witgar Hitchcock great great great nephew

### ***Matthew Flinders Journal Part 2: The Last Four Years*** **Prologue: Flinders at the Cape: July August 1810**

After a voyage of 26 days on the Otter, Flinders arrived at Simon's Bay on Wednesday July 11th. In conformance with naval regulations, no journal was kept during the voyage, but it was resumed for the seven weeks at the Cape, providing a unique account of life in the four year old English colony.

After docking at 12.15p.m., captain Tompkinson went on shore to go over to Cape Town with despatches for vice admiral Bertie and Lord Caledon, the Governor. Flinders gave him letters for the admiral and his signal lieutenant, Henry Lynne, together with packets of letters for the Cape and St. Helena he had been entrusted with as he left Mauritius. Seeing a merchantman nearby from Hobart with a cargo of timber, Flinders went aboard and learnt from the mate the news of his acquaintances in Port Jackson together with that of the death of colonel Collins, the first governor of Tasmania, which island Flinders and Bass had been the first to circumnavigate a mere twelve years earlier.

The next day, on going ashore to make some purchases, Flinders found he was charged double English prices, assuming without any consideration that English prices had remained constant over the previous nine years! On his walk, Flinders was recognised by a master builder, Mr. Osborn, from the time the Investigator was there in 1801. Walking some way with him, Mr. Osborn introduced him to Sir Edward Butler, colonel commandant of the 87th. regiment and governor of Simon's Town, to whom Flinders, most properly, paid his compliments and was invited to dine.

Returning on board, Flinders received a note from captain Cameron of the 87th. to inform him that, according to a telegraph from Cape Town, his presence was required there. Flinders had planned to set out the following morning, and had hired a covered wagon for 24.5 Spanish dollars to convey himself, his servant and baggage, but shortly afterwards Sir Samuel Butler came on board, requesting him to set out immediately, having a horse and a dragon ready for the purpose. So, leaving his servant and baggage to follow later, Flinders set off accompanied by Sir Samuel as far as Muizenberg, where horses were changed, as they were half way from thence to Cape Town. After a journey time of three and a half hours for the 22 miles, Flinders alighted at the admiral's door at 4.30p.m., where he dined and spent the evening, Mr. H. Lynne procuring a bed for him nearby.

The next morning, after breakfasting at the admiral's, he being too ill to appear, Mr. Lynne went with Flinders to seek lodgings. They settled with Mrs. Pieteron for 80 rix dollars per month for lodging and table for both Flinders and his servant. Mrs. Pieteron did not speak English, but her French was very good. Also lodging there were Major Millar of the 87th., Mr. Goodricke, master attendant and his wife, Messrs. Barnfield and Newman as well as Mrs. Pieteron's son and young daughter in law. Flinders then went out to pay his respects to His Excellency Lord Caledon, whom he saw, and to General Grey, commander of the forces, who was not at home. At 3p.m., his servant and baggage arrived from Simon's Town and, in the evening, a card of invitation to dine with Lord Caledon the following Tuesday.

The following morning, the admiral sent for Flinders, perused his parole, and, deciding that he was under no obligation to refuse any information relative to Mauritius and Bourbon, proceeded to ask him a series of questions for which he required written answers. As he was writing them out, Flinders received a visit from Commissioner Shield, in spite of the fact that he had not yet called upon him. The Commissioner invited him to dine the following day. Later, by invitation of Major Millar, commanding the regiment in the absence of Sir Edward Butler at Simon's town, Flinders dined at the 87th.

Before taking his written answers to the admiral the next day, Flinders had a visit from the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alexander, and also from Mr. Bird, the assistant. Later, he took a walk in the Dutch East India Company's Garden, where, it being Sunday, four regimental bands were playing. He dined later with Commissioner Shield, his wife and

daughter, with whom he passed the afternoon agreeably, finding them to be a *regular sober English family*. They lent him English newspapers up to the middle of March.

Flinders stayed at his lodgings all the next day, apart from visiting Mr. Alexander and sitting half an hour with the admiral, whom he found too ill, busy and sulky for a longer stay. From rough sketches of the admiral's, he made a drawing of the town and harbour of Port Napoleon, such as would be useful in naval and military planning. At 5.30p.m. the next day, he went to dine with His excellency Lord Caledon, where he met Commissioner Shield as well as Messrs. Alexander and Bird. Among the ten or twelve other guests, were Mr. Faulkener the paymaster and the Rev. Jones, chaplain to the Governor. Later on Flinders began to suffer cruelly from his gravelly complaint, so he was very glad that the party broke up as early as 9p.m.

The next morning, Flinders took his sketch, together with a list of the principal vessels that arrived in the Isle of France in the first five and a half months of the year, to the admiral, before calling on Dr. Caerns of the Naval Hospital, a further example of his taking the initiative in getting to know all the influential residents, as was his practice in Mauritius. Later he dined again with Commissioner Shield where he passed the afternoon and evening agreeably. Dining out the next day with Mr. Alexander in a party mostly Dutch, he was taken in the evening to a society ball to see the Cape ladies.

On Friday 20th., Flinders breakfasted by appointment with Mr. & Mrs. Alexander and then rode out with Lt. Cator to Green Point, on a horse provided by Major Millar, in order to see the regiments exercising and a vessel coming into the Bay. Afterwards he called on the admiral, who asked him for a second sketch of Port Napoleon, and then dined at home. The Dutch East India Company's agent, Mr. Pringle, called with an offer of service, apologising for not having come before, on account of ill health. In the evening, Flinders called on the Shields and spent an agreeable time in the family party, noting later that *this family is a retired one, in the old English way*. The next day, he called on Mr. Pringle, whom he found to be a gentlemanly and obliging man. He knew the Abbe Carrier, with whom he had been educated in France and from whom he had received letters by the cartel, which spoke of his treatment in the Isle of France as *having excited the imagination of all thinking people in the island*.

After making the second sketch of the town and port of the Isle of France, Flinders, on the Sunday evening, went out to dine at 5.30p.m. with colonel Pigot and officers of the 21st. Light Dragoons, by invitation. He was accompanied by Lt. Cator. However, being a modest drinker, Flinders found that he had drunk as much wine as he could take by 8.30, so he returned home and went to bed. It is noticeable that the time of dining was three or four hours later in the Cape than it was in Mauritius, so Flinders must have reckoned that the drinking in the mess would have gone on far too long for him, if he had stayed and perhaps the later conversation would not have been to his liking.

The next day saw Flinders still employed upon his sketch, as Lt. General Grey did him the honour of a visit, apologising for not having returned Flinders' call sooner. As always, Flinders does not omit to record when superior ranks took respectful notice of him, in order to show that he had not been slighted. Staying at home all day, he spent the evening looking over two volumes of Africa Researches lent him by Mr. Alexander.

After such a quiet day, the following made up for it: Flinders took his sketch to the admiral, but had to refuse an invitation to dine as he had already been invited to spend the evening and dine with the Commissioner and Mrs. Shield, to where he went after playing three games of chess with Major Millar, leaving a card at Lord Caledon's and calling for half an hour on Mr. Pringle. At the Shields were also Mr. Johnson, an agent victualler with his lively and musical wife, and Controller of the Customs Mr. W. Bird.

Wednesday 25th. was similar: after leaving a card at Lt. General Grey's, he called on Dr. Caerns and Mr. Maude, afterwards dining with Mr. and Mrs. Pringle. In the late evening, he passed the time reading African Researches, as he did the next day till 4p.m. when he went to dine with Mr. Wilberforce Bird. In the course of paying a bill of \$282, he learnt that the exchange in favour of bills upon England was from 20 to 25%.

Major Millar left the guest house the following morning to go with his five companies of the 87th. to Simon's Bay to replace part of the 24th., and then embarked on the Euphrates for Madras. Flinders called upon Mr. Bird, Collector of Customs, from whom he had just received an invitation. Later he dined with Dr. Caerns and a small party, amongst whom was the local Lutheran minister, the Rev. Esse. He left with an invitation to breakfast the following morning, after which Dr. Caerns took him to see the Lion and Lioness, the Grew, the

Botanical Gardens etc.. Later he called upon the admiral, and, returning home, found that Lt. Cator had called to take leave prior to setting off to Simon's Town to go out to Bourbon in the Ranger. At 6p.m., he went to dine with colonel Pigot at his house.

Sunday July 29th. found Flinders reading *the Memoires of La Bourdounais* until it was time to go out to dine with Mr. Alexander. Among the guests was a Miss Bergman from Germany on her way to be a missionary to the Namaquus. Local advice prompted her not to go unprotected, so she was fortunate in being able to marry a Mr. Albright, a missionary who had just come out for the same purpose. Both appeared to Flinders to be over 40!

Sunday's wet weather had been followed by more rain to the satisfaction of the farmers, but that left the streets very dirty. Flinders did not feel too well; he thus excused himself from dining by invitation with Mr. Bird. Instead, he read the little novel of Alfred, which he had come across in the guest house.

The next day, Flinders must have recovered his normal self, only to call on the admiral and to find him considerably worse, possibly even in danger of his life. He went then to call on Mr. Shield in order to look over his library, remarking that his reception there was always polite and friendly. In the event, he was invited back to pass the evening with the family.

August came in with cloudy weather and rain at times, so Flinders passed the day reading until he went to dine with Lt. General Grey, where there was a large party. He later played a rubber at whist at Mr. Hedander's house. There he was invited to go on a party to Saldanha Bay, 150 miles up the west coast from Cape Town, in particular so he could make a survey. Lord Caledon was expected to lead the party, as he was going up country soon after the Prince of Wales' birthday. Sadly, Flinders had to decline, since he knew he was under obligation to return to England by the next available boat.

Thursday 2nd. August was a notable day. After making various calls in the morning, Flinders dined with the Shields, along with Dr. and Mrs. Caerns and a Miss Bird, whom he found well informed and he conversed with her in French! Later, they all went to the Society Ball. Flinders made one of his few classic remarks: the one on this occasion being that the Dutch ladies were fresher coloured but had less grace than the young ladies of the Isle of France!

Fortunately, the next morning was fine weather for breakfasting with Mr. John Dewitt and riding out with him to Green Point to see the troops exercising. They took the seashore road back, enabling Flinders to see the vast improvements made in the town since 1798, when he had passed some months there: the town had since doubled in size and the slopes of the hill had been planted with corn. In the evening, he dined with Mr. Alexander and a small party including Major Leech of the 72nd. of whom Flinders gave one of his rare approvals, considering him to be a well-informed and reasoning man.

On Saturday August 4th, Flinders dined with admiral Bertie for the first time since the day of his arrival, having had to refuse two previous invitations on account of prior engagements. Sunday evening found him dining with the friendly and hospitable John Dewitt. The next morning he called on Mr. Hill, the commissary general, and also on Mr. Pringle who lent him three recent numbers of the Edinburgh Review. After dining at home, he called and passed the evening with Mr. Shield.

After writing up his narrative for two hours the next morning, Flinders walked towards Table Mountain in order to bathe. Later, he dined and passed the evening at Lord Caledon's, playing chess with Mr. Alexander, who attached himself more than any other guest. His kind host sent him the Travels of Lord Valentia in India, Abyssinia etc. the following morning, for his reading. In the evening, he dined with his old acquaintance, Mr. Maude, and stayed later than usual.

Thursday 9th. was perhaps the most exciting day of all: after breakfasting with John Dewitt, Flinders rode out with him the eleven miles to Constantia, where they were shown the vineyards belonging to Mr. Klooten. The vines at the end of winter had been pruned almost to the ground, on account of northerly winds, which would have destroyed the young shoots. In the cellar there were 80 leaguers full of Constantia wine, both red and white, Frontignan, Pontac and Stein wine, all from the vineyard. After tasting them all, Flinders preferred the white wine, although the Frontignan was dearer. They were invited to dine, despite the observation that Mr. Klooten was recognised as a plain Dutchman not well known for politeness. In better weather, it was a delightful ride home to Mr. Dewitt's, where Flinders dined with the family, before calling for an hour on Mr. Shield with whom to share his experiences of the day.

After writing his narrative and reading Lord Valentia's travels, the next morning, Flinders called on the Commissioner, who took him over the dockyard and adjacent store houses, all of which were in excellent order and well supplied. Later, Flinders dined with Mr. Alexander and spent the evening there playing chess. It was arranged that he would ride out with him the following day to Mr. Alexander's country house at Green Point. This was followed by dining with him in the evening, when Lord Caledon called in and the discussion turned to South-Sea discoveries and discoverers. The mentioning of this last detail indicated that it was not the usual topic of discussion when Flinders was invited out.

On Sunday 12th. the weather was fine and warm, so Flinders went up to the cascade under Table Mountain to bathe. In the evening, he dined with the Commissioner and his family, by self invitation. The next evening, the Commissioner, in his carriage, called for Flinders to take him to the Governor's Ball, given in honour of the Prince of Wales' birthday. The wet weather caused the company to be smaller than usual, but still 100 people attended and sat down to supper at midnight. Flinders was embarrassed, since he did not expect to stay so long, and so had not provided himself with small clothes, dress hat, or uniform. Consequently, he was the sole person there in plain clothes, boots and round hat. Nevertheless, he was honoured with much attention by Lord Caledon, and several of the principal officers. The party broke up at 2 o'clock.

The next day, Flinders dined with Mr. Falcon, the deputy paymaster general, and the following morning, he called on general Cockell. That evening, he dined at Mr. Willberforce Bird's with a party, amongst whom was Mrs. Johnson, the agent victualler's wife, whom he described as a lively, talkable and agreeable woman, in all part of a very fine evening.

Flinders had by then realised that it was customary, when dining out, to go in full dress. He therefore bought small clothes and a dress lot, which expense, he had intended to avoid, especially as the cost of clothes in Cape Town was very high, with silk stockings at 8 rix dollars, hats at 10 and boots at 20. Thus attired, he dined with general Cockell, where the party included general Grey.

The following day, Flinders had expected to dine at home, but Mr. Alexander called and took him to visit Mr. Macksill's and then back to his house for dinner, where he later played a few games of chess. The next morning, he spent reading: having finished Lord Valencia's Travels and the second volume of Platt's Gleanings, he began the Edinburgh Reviews, before taking another bathe in the cascade below Table Mountain. Later, Lt. General Grey did him the honour of a visit, following which he went to dine by appointment with Lord Caledon, who took the party to the play house afterwards. Flinders did not find the programme very much to his liking, as a Dutch ballet was performed, with children for the dancing. The piece was called *Shipwreck* and appeared to amuse the Dutch who understood the dialect; and as only the dancing amused him, and that only moderately, he came away before the piece was concluded, since scene changing took such a long time. Three or four hundred people filled the house, but the performance did not equal those in the theatre in the Isle of France.

Commisioner Shield having found Flinders' narrative so interesting, Flinders was requested to lend it to Lord Caledon, to whom he forwarded it, on August 19th., with a note. After visits from Mr. Shield, Mr. Pringle and others, he went to dine with Mr. Davhevoed, the receiver general, where Lord Caledon was among the company.

On Monday the 20th., Flinders made a few visits and then dined at major Campbell's of the 72nd. The major's wife was the niece of the elder Mr. Klooten who owned the Constantia vineyards. The next day, Flinders appears to have dined twice: first with John Dewitt, afterwards riding out with him and seeing two green fruited coffee trees in a garden under Table Mountain. Comparing these with those in Mauritius, he considered a coffee plantation might succeed in the locality. The second dining was with Major Leech of the 72nd at the mess, at the conclusion of which, he was glad to get home fairly sober! So, the following morning he was breakfasting with Mr. Dewitt, and discussing politics with him, before riding out upon a horse lent him by Major Leech, in the course of which he called upon Mrs. Bird to pay 42 rix dollars for three dozen of French claret. Presumably, this purchase was made for consumption at the captain's table on the homeward voyage.

Later the same day he called upon the admiral, but when he enquired about his passage to England, he was answered so ill-naturedly, he took it as a hint that the calls he had been making every three or four days should be discontinued. Nevertheless, Flinders was eventually successful in obtaining admiral Bertie's permission to sail on the cutter,

Olympia, on August 28th., the departure of that vessel being occasioned by the very recent arrival of a vessel from Bourbon, then in English hands, with two officers on board destined for England.

Flinders last recorded social event was dining with Lt. General Grey on August 22nd., where there was a large party. The final five days of his sojourn in Capetown is not recorded in his Journal, for no apparent reason.

Apart from being under the command of admiral Bertie during his seven weeks at the Cape, the period was really one of extensive shore leave. Rarely did Flinders dine at his guest house, so numerous were his invitations as listed below. Mornings were spent reading books he had been lent, making regular calls and, on a few occasions, purchases in the town. Three times he went to bathe at the cascade under Table Mountain and on five or six occasions, he went out riding with one of his hosts, the highlight being the trip to Constantia. He did not take readily to the Dutch, in particular the ladies, whom he did not think the equal of those in the Isle of France, although he did appreciate being able to converse in French with those Dutch who were more fluent in that language than they were in English. Altogether, the period must have been the most pleasant one in his life, in stark contrast to the three and a half years of hard and trying work that lay ahead.

**List of Officers and Civilians at Cape Town July/August 1810**  
(with number of occasions on which they entertained Flinders)

The Earl of Caledon	4	Governor of the Cape
Admiral Bertie	2	Chief of Naval Command
Lt. General Grey	2	Commander of the Forces
General Cockell	1	
Sir Edward Butler		Col. Commandant 87th. regiment; Governor of
Simon's		Town
Col. Pigot	2	21st Light Dragoons
Major Millar	1	dep. Commandant, 87th. regiment
Major Campbell	1	72nd. regiment
Major Leech	1	72nd regiment
Captain Cameron		87th. regiment
Mr. Alexander	6	Colonial Secretary
Mr. Bird		Assistant Colonial Secretary
Mr. Shield	3	Commissioner
Mr. Faulkener		Paymaster General
Mr. Falcon	1	Deputy Paymaster General
Mr. Goodricke		Master Attendant
Mr. Davhevoud		Receiver General
Mr. W. Bird	2	Controller of Customs
The Rev. Jones		Chaplin to the Governor
Dr. Caerns	1	Naval Hospital
Mr. Pringle	1	Dutch East india Company Agent
Mr. Johnson		Agent victualler
Mr. John Dewitt	5	
Mr. Maude	2	(old friend of Flinders
Mr. Klooten		Owner of Constantia vineyard

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## A Hard Life in London

### Arrival and first days in England

After an eight week voyage Flinders arrived at Spithead on Wednesday October 24th. After waiting on Sir Roger Curtis, he found the the earliest conveyance to London was the evening mail. So he spent the interval with his old friend, Mr. Park, the master attendant at the dockyard. Reaching London at 7am the next morning, he made straight for Mr. Bonner, his permanent contact, with whom Mrs. Flinders would have been in regular touch. Like that, she was able, in company with Mrs. Procter, his father's half-first cousin, Penelope Flinders, to re-unite with him at noon, but Flinders was soon obliged to

leave them in order to send up his card to Mr. Yorke, first Lord of the Admiralty. He had already been to the Admiralty, where he found the two secretaries, Cooker and Barrow, who treated him with flattering attention. He learnt that his promotion to post-captain had taken place on September 24th., the day it was known that he had arrived at the Cape. Mr Yorke received him eventually with urbanity and an appreciation of his sufferings in the Isle of France and told him that his commission would be backdated to the time he embarked on the cartel, the previous May. Mr. Yorke also allowed him to present a memorial on it being antedated considerably. In the evening, Mr. Brown and Mr. Bauer, the botanist and botanical draughtsman on the Investigator, called upon him at the Norfolk Hotel, where he had booked in early that day.

The next day, Flinders got his hair cut and himself measured for clothes. Mr. W. Franklin then took him to the Office of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Liverpool, where he left his official letter regarding the Cumberland and afterwards to Lord Spencer's house, where he left a card. In the evening, he received a letter from the Admiralty announcing his promotion from May 7th. last, the date of the patent for holding the then current Board of Admiralty.

The next day, Flinders sent copies of the French minister's order for his liberation and the accompanying letter from colonel Monistrol to the Admiralty in compliance with their request. He then went out to deliver Mr. Alexander's letters to Mr. Reeve at Spring Gardens, to the Marquess Wellesley's to leave his card, and to Mr. Maridin's at 76 Wimpole street with papers concerning Sumatra. On the way back, he called at the Admiralty, where Mr. Barrow encouraged him to be the author of the published voyage. Lastly, he went to his Agent, Mr. Standert to learn the state of his account, into which all remittances, made to him by the Admiralty, were paid. After that, he passed the evening with Mrs. Flinders, as was to become the usual practice. However, they spent the next evening with Mrs. Procter at 63 White Cross Street, just north of the Barbican, where they had earlier dined.

On Monday, the 29th., Flinders went to the Navy Office with Mr. Standert concerning his accounts. He found that his pursery concerns were in the hands of Mr. Toulmin, since, in the absence of a purser on the Cumberland, Flinders himself was acting in that office. At 5pm he took a hired chariot to dine with Mr. Yorke, the first Lord of the Admiralty, where, amongst others were Sir Sydney Yorke and Mr. Barrow. He got home at 10.30pm, well satisfied with his visit.

The next day, calling upon Captain Waterhouse, Commander of the Reliance, whom he found in very bad health, Flinders met Admiral Hunter, who had sailed out in the Reliance as the second Governor of New South Wales and from whom he learnt that the Government was awaiting Captain Bligh's arrival from Australia, before proceeding with the investigation into the colony's affairs. Later, he and Mrs. Flinders dined with Mr. Bonner in Fleet Street and did not get home till midnight. The next day, they both went to dine with Mr. Standert at Great James Street, Bedford Row and returned home at 11pm.

It was essential to move into lodgings as soon as possible, so Flinders took his wife to see the rooms they were to take in Mrs. Major's house from the following Monday at two guineas per week. At this time, Flinders was still quite relaxed as shown by his reading of Attalu to Mrs. Flinders in the evening of November 2nd.

Mr. Gale, editor of the Naval Chronicle, called the next morning and the morning following, Mr. Bonner called with the Stamford paper containing an article referring to Flinders. At 2pm. he took a coach with Mrs. Flinders to the Royal Exchange and then by stage coach to Hackney, where they spent an agreeable afternoon with Mr. and Mrs. Hoppins, relatives of Mrs. Flinders.

On Monday November 5th., the account for their eleven days at the Norfolk, amounting to £17. 10s. having been paid, they set off by coach to their new lodgings at Mrs. Major's, 16 King Street, Soho. That evening, their first callers dropped in, Mr. W. Franklin and Samuel Ward Flinders, just arrived from Devonshire, where he had been living in a cottage in the hamlet of Jump, nine miles NNE of Plymouth.

On November 7th. Flinders dined by invitation with the directors of the East India Company at the city of London Tavern, who gave him the same obliging attention that he had every where found since his arrival. The following day Flinders dined with Mr. Standert, met vice-admiral Domett and had an agreeable evening. Earlier he had made the first of numerous calls on Sir Joseph Banks at his Soho house. Sir Joseph, who had just arrived from Lincolnshire, was heavily engaged, but invited him to breakfast the following day, when Flinders took up the writing of the voyage and the antedating of his commission. On

both these matters, Sir Joseph was in agreement with Flinders viewpoint and later that day expressed these opinions to the Admiralty.

Samuel Flinders spent the whole of the next day with his brother, who took the opportunity of examining all of Samuel's public and private concerns. On November 16th. Flinders called on Sir Joseph Banks who gave him an outline of a Memorial to be presented to the King in Council with respect of backdating his commission, which Sir Joseph had obtained from the Colonial Office. There he met Governor Bligh for the first time for many years and heard much about New South Wales.

### **Revisiting Lincolnshire.**

Having made the necessary preparations, Flinders was due to take six weeks leave from his affairs, and so, accompanied by Mrs. Flinders, he set forth on Friday November 23rd. on what came to be his only visit to Lincolnshire and his closest relatives. It was the one time he saw his step mother and all his relatives, apart from his sister Susanna, his half sister Henrietta, both of whom later came to stay for several weeks and the latter who called briefly with her husband, Mr. Chambers, when they were in London in 1814; and Samuel who, once his brother had returned, had forsaken Devonshire for the capital.

In spite of having booked seats on the Cambridge coach, that conveyance did not wait for them the five minutes that they were late; consequently, they were obliged to follow it in a Hackney coach as far as Bishops Stortford, before gaining access. However, the Cambridge coach arrived at the Blue Boar at 4.30pm, a journey of 51 miles. It was too dark to see anything of the colleges and churches, so they remained at the Blue Boar for the night and at 8.45 the next morning set off in a post chaise for Wisbech. They passed through St. Ives and Chatteris but when they reached March, they found they were unable to proceed, as the one and only post chaise kept there was engaged until 5pm, when it returned. Then, in spite of the expense of four horses, they set off on the ten miles to Wisbech, disregarding the dark night and bad roads, arriving at the newly built Rose and Crown by 7pm. Once there, they made for Mrs. Hursthouse senior's residence, where they found in addition, Miss Hannah Hursthouse and soon afterwards, Flinders' second cousin, Charles Hursthouse of Tydd St. Mary.

In better weather, on the Sunday morning, they went to church and sat by invitation in Dr. Johnson's pew, where also was captain Morris R.N. Dinner was taken at Mrs. Hursthouse senior's, where also were Charles Hursthouse, his wife, and her father, Mr. Jacks. Afterwards, the party set off for Tydd St. Mary, Flinders and his wife taking Mrs. Hursthouse senior in their chaise, while Mr. Charles Hursthouse, his wife and his sister Hannah followed in their curricle. In the evening, Flinders discussed with his host the transfer of the £500 stock in 3 per cent consols from his cousin's to his own name.

The Hursthouse's home at Tydd St. Mary had been depicted in two views, front and back, on the family tree drawn up by Mr. Burgess of Fleet in 1796. The house was of the hall type with two cross wings with hall between and the drawings were made by Donald and Elliot Smith on 15th. July 1742. It was most probably built in the 16th. century, but later modernised by the insertion of central dormer windows, in line with the front door into the hall, and five new windows on both the ground and first floors. Chimneys show on the parlour wing and at the opposite end of the hall, while, at the rear, the cross wings protrude. The house would appear to be no longer standing.

On the Monday, Flinders and Mr. Charles went to Fleet in order to compare the register of his father's burial, prior to making an affidavit to it. Dinner was taken back at Tydd St. Mary and the evening spent with the family. The following day, Flinders and his wife set off with Mr. Charles in his curricle for Spalding, after taking leave of the three ladies, in course of which, Flinders presented a gift to Miss Hannah. After a three hour journey, they arrived at 1pm and soon met uncle, Mr. John Flinders. Calls were made on distant relatives, Mrs. Ayre and Mrs. Gayton. Together with uncle John and Mr. Charles, they dined at the White Hart, after which Mr. Charles returned to Tydd St. Mary and the rest travelled in a post chaise to Donington. They alighted about 6pm. at Mrs. Flinders', only to find her at her daughter's, Mrs. Dodd, where she had arrived only an hour before after attending the funeral of her sister Mrs. Franklin of Enderby. They all stayed to supper with Mrs. Dodd, Flinders' half sister Hannah.

Flinders and his wife stayed seven nights with his step mother. On the next morning, they called on some old friends of the family and met sister Elizabeth's children, James and Susan Harvey. James, at 13, who had lost his mother when he was two, appeared to be a fine and intelligent little boy. Mr. Booth, Flinders' uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Dodd and uncle John came to dine and spend the evening.

The next day, Flinders met his brother in law, George Pearson for the first time, when he and Susanna, together with his half uncle, Mr. William Flinders, came over from Boston, the Pearsons stopping the night. Before they arrived, Flinders had begun to take over the financial affairs arising from his father's death in 1802, commencing with making a copy of the probate, and taking over some concerns, which, in the meanwhile, were being dealt with by his step mother and half sister Henrietta. He then went over, in his assiduous manner, all the receipts and payments made by his step mother concerning the property devised to her by his father for her natural life, and after her, to his surviving children. He was then able to close the account, of the general succession, and, in so doing, found that book debts and monies paid in exceeded payments of funeral expenses and repairs etc. by £29, but that £27. 17s. of book debts were still outstanding up to August 1810.

Amongst the property left by Dr. Flinders was a dwelling in the tenure of Mr. Large, which, on being examined by Flinders and his step mother, was found to be much in need of repair. It was soon decided to sell the property, particularly as the interest on the proceeds would provide £4 or £5 per annum more than the annual rent, to the advantage of the widow. Making the sale was to turn out to be a long-winded affair partly because the trustees could not give their consent on behalf of Henrietta, still a minor until January 1812.

Meanwhile, visits continued: Mr. and Mrs. Dodd came to dine; Flinders walked the two miles to Bicker to call on his cousins Brucebridge Green and Mr. Trimnall and visited some of his father's old friends in company with his uncle John. The two also went to see the Rev. Wilson for the purpose of getting extracts from the parish register relating to his great grandfather who had come from Ruddington to settle in Donington at the beginning of the 18th. century.

The week at Donington was by then up, and on Tuesday December 4th. Flinders and his wife took their leave of friends and at noon set off in a post chaise in company with uncle John, for the ten miles to Boston, where they were due to spend three nights with Susanna and George Pearson. The first evening, they accompanied Susanna, now a Baptist like her husband, to hear Mr. Stevens, a Calvinistic preacher. Flinders considered him to be a man of good sense and sound understanding, reflecting his relatively open mind on the matter of non-conformity.

The next morning, Flinders called on his old schoolfellow, Mr. W. Bowles, an attorney. Mr. Allen, formerly Miner on the Investigator, called. Later on, after making some visits, Flinders, his wife and uncle, went to dine with his half uncle Mr. W. Flinders. For once, there were several people present keen to see and talk to Flinders about his voyages and imprisonment. The next day, Flinders and his wife dined with Mr. and Mrs. Bailey, who had invited also Mr. Allen and other Boston friends of Flinders; the party continued till midnight.

On December 7th., Flinders looked up his old schoolfellow, William Paterson, now a Boston merchant, from whom he purchased a very fine tea-urn, as a belated wedding present to his sister Susanna. The urn had a silver plate fixed to it, hallmarked 1809, and engraved 'MF to S and G P'; it has long been in the possession of the descendants of Jemima, their daughter. Characteristically, Flinders bought sweetmeats for the children and a pocket-book for Mr. W. Flinders. He also called on Mrs. Faggon, his second cousin and her daughter, and with Mrs. Flinders upon a Mrs. Rockliff. After dinner at the Pearsons, Mr. Stevens the preacher and Mr. Stainbark came in to see them.

The next day was Saturday, and after dinner with Mr. W. Flinders, they set off, in a post chaise and four, for the Franklin's home at Mavis Enderby, arriving at 4pm after a journey of 12 miles. Awaiting them were Willingham, brother to John, together with Mr. and Mrs. John Booth (nee Hannah Franklin). Flinders and his wife accompanied the family to church on the Sunday to hear Mr. Fretwell.

The following morning, with snow on the ground, Flinders walked with Willingham Franklin the three miles to Spilsby and dined with the Rev. Walls of Spilsby, at his particular request, where Flinders was treated with the most polite attention. Taking advantage of being in Spilsby, Flinders managed to get £50 from Mr. Titus Bourne for Mrs. Flinders and making an appointment with Mr. Cousins of Kirby, executor to his late uncle Ward, to examine the will and so settle his legacy. He also called on Mr. Lound, his old schoolmaster at the Free School at Donington, to hear news of his son Sherrard, whom he wished to get promoted and to pay him a small sum due. They walked home to Enderby in the dusk.

On Wednesday 12th., with so much rain and snow, the journey to Kirby, four miles distant, was postponed. Instead, Willingham and Flinders went to dine at Mr.

Rashdale's, where they met Mr. and Mrs. Hunt of Partney. The next day, the weather had sufficiently improved for Flinders to ride to East Kirby to call on Mr. Cousins and see his uncle's will, which entitled him to £200, available at the Spilsby bank, on presentation of an acknowledgement. In the evening, Mr. and Mrs. Lound came from Spilsby to see Flinders and stayed till after supper. He took the opportunity of paying Mr. Lound the balance of the £2. 2s. 6d. for which he was indebted to his son, then in the Warrior at Messina.

On Friday 14th., Flinders rode to Spilsby and called at the bank to get the interest due on the £200 of £1. 2s. In exchange for the acknowledgement, the bank would write to Veres, their London bankers, for them to pay Flinders £200 on his call, sending up his signature, to prevent imposition. He then had to go to Ponton's to fill up a legacy receipt for £195, paying the stamp duty of £4. 17s. 6d. plus one shilling, with instructions for it to be sent to Mr. Cousins for stamping and registration. After hiring a post chaise for the afternoon, he returned to Enderby with Mr. John Booth, in time for dinner. About 3 o'clock, Flinders and his wife left for Partney (5 miles) in the reserved post chaise, in order to pass a night with Mr. and Mrs. Hunt, old friends of her family, described by Flinders as *worthy, respectable people*.

The next morning was taken up visiting Mrs. Flinders' old friends, nurses, servants etc, to all of whom she gave small gifts. Mr. Hunt arranged an early dinner, so that Flinders and his wife could leave a little before three o'clock in the post chaise for Louth, some 14 miles. At 6pm, they were set down at the door of Mrs. Carr, his maternal aunt, with whom they stayed the weekend. It appeared that Mr. Carr was a useless husband in the house and of the three daughters, one was importune, but the other two were of the greatest use in Mrs. Carr's drug shop, on which the family relied for income.

On Sunday, Mrs. Flinders went to church with the youngest daughter, while Flinders, as was so often to be the case, stayed at home writing. The next morning, they left the Carrs at 11am, setting off in a post chaise to Cuxwold in order to keep a promise to stay a night with Mr. George Whitworth, where they arrived at 2pm, a journey of 20 miles. They left the next day for Barton upon Humber, in order to take the ferry to Hull, en route for Beverly. Sadly, a gap in the Journal of ten days, the result of the removal of the second two pages of folio 64 (= 1sheet) caused the Christmas period to be unrecorded for posterity.

By December 28th. they had clearly been in Hull some days, since, by then, Flinders had made a habit of going to the newsroom every day to read the London papers. They were guests of Henrietta, Flinders cousin, and her husband, Mr. Newbald. Mr. Hollingworth called with his son Andrew, whom he wished to send to sea under Flinders' care. Flinders chose a course of study for him until he was 15, when he proposed sending him to sea with one of his friends, if he did not get to sea himself. Later, Mr. Bromly called to accompany Flinders on a walk round the outskirts of Hull, where they saw the steam engine, made by Watt, that raised the water supply to a level from which all the town could be supplied. Mr. Atkinson, the superintendent, was most obliging in showing them the pump and its engine. That afternoon, the Newbalds put on a dinner party, at which, among the guests, was Mr. Lutridge, the collector of customs at the port of Hull, whom Flinders liked very much, considering him to be a gentlemanly man. The following day, they dined with Mr. Kirkbride, a neighbour of Mr. Newbald's, where they were handsomely feasted.

On the last day of the year, Flinders booked two tickets for £7 on the coach from Barton to London on January 2nd. and then called on Mr. Lutridge at the Customs house and on the Rev. Bromby. With Mrs. Flinders, he went to dine with Alderman Hollingworth, a cousin of hers by marriage, where they spent a rather pleasant evening, but got home earlier than usual, in view of their early start the next morning when they had to be down at the ferry for Barton by 8am. This they achieved, after taking their leave of Henrietta Newbald and Isabella Tyler. The ferry did not sail till 9, but landed them in Barton at 10am. They were met by Mr. Aston, who accompanied them to his house, where they spent the day and stopped the night. The next morning, the Barton coach called for them and they set off straight for London, dining at Lincoln, supping at Folkingham, breakfasting at Stilton, dining at Baldock and arriving at their lodgings at 10pm., after having been 34 hours in the coach.

Flinders first call after six weeks absence was to Sir Joseph Banks, at 32, Soho Square, from whom he found out that no decision had been made in respect of writing up the voyage. So he went straight to the Admiralty, but ascertained that the first lord could not see him until his audience day on Tuesday. He then called on his agent to discover the state of his accounts in the Navy and Victualling Offices and went into the city to obtain the £200 deposited in the Spilsby bank. The next day, he purchased an analysis book, in which to

record his expenses from the time he arrived in England. In this way, he demonstrated his inheritance of his father's well recorded accounting habits.

On Sunday, January 6th., Flinders again called on Sir Joseph Banks and borrowed Peron's account of Baudin's voyage. After reading part of it, he went for a walk with Mrs. Flinders in the frosty cold weather. Mr. and Miss Hodgkinson called and invited them to dinner the following Thursday. The following day, they went for another walk, during which Flinders paid a bill for Mr. Bromby of Hull.

The next day being Tuesday, Flinders went to see the First Lord, but found his audience day had been changed to Monday and he was appointed for noon the following day, by Mr. Edgecombe, his private secretary. Later, Mr. Walker of Richmond called, as did his brother Samuel, who stayed to dine and pass the evening.

Wednesday came, but Mr. Yorke was indisposed and so could not see Flinders, but, in a later note, promised to see him at 1pm. on the morrow. Even then, he was not available. Flinders went alone to dine with Mr. Hodgkinson, Mrs. Flinders suffering from a headache. On Friday 11th., Flinders wrote to his step mother and Mr. Hursthouse upon family business. His brother came to dine, bringing two stamps for the receipts of the £600 left to both of them under their father's will.

The following day, a Saturday, Flinders at last succeeded in seeing Mr. Yorke, from whom he learnt that arrangements were to be made for a committee, consisting of Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Barrow and himself, to oversee the writing up of the Investigator's voyage. Flinders then managed to get Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Barrow to meet at 1pm. on the morrow for preliminary discussions. ....

For clarity, it is at this point that the daily sumy 19th., Flinders called on Mr. Barrow at the Admiralty to ask for Westall's sketches at the request of Sir Joseph. These were sent round in the evening. The next day, Flinders went down to Greenwich by stage coach to dine with Dr. Maskelaine

**, the ageing astronomer royal., who died on February 9th. 1811.**

The Admiralty responded to Mr. Barrow's report of the preliminary meeting of the committee, by giving Sir Joseph Banks the authority to superintend all the work and make arrangements for the expenses. Flinders, summoned to Sir Joseph on January 16th., was then informed accordingly, and given a note from Sir Joseph to Mr. Barrow, which enabled him to get an order to the hydrographer to deliver up to him all his journals, charts and papers. The following day, Flinders called on Mr. Arrowsmith and discussed with him the printing of the charts, which Flinders received, with his log books, from the Hydrographic Office, the next day.

On Saturday, January 19th., Flinders called on Mr. Barrow at the Admiralty to ask for Westall's sketches at the request of Sir Joseph. These were sent round in the evening. The next day, Flinders went down to Greenwich by stage coach to dine with Dr. Maskelaine, the ageing astronomer royal., who died on February 9th. 1811. He then He had hoped to discuss the publication of the investigations, made in the Investigator, by the Board of Longitude, but did not get very far.

At Sir Joseph's on January 21st., it was settled that Mr. Arrowsmith should reduce and engrave the charts, calling on Flinders the next day to settle the seals and ascertain the number of charts to be engraved, and that Flinders should discuss with Mr. Westall which of his sketches should be used.

As arranged, Mr. Arrowsmith called at 10am the next day, when the scale of four inches a degree was settled for the general scale of the coast of Australia. There were to be eleven large charts and four smaller ones. The following morning, Mr. Westall brought his coastal sketches so that he could decide with Flinders which ones were to accompany the charts. This took them till 3pm and even then they not finished making the final selection, which was completed the next day, when 14 for the south and 14 for the east and north coasts were chosen.

Sir Joseph called for Flinders and told him to bring the charts the next day with Mr. Arrowsmith in attendance, so that he could completely comprehend the arrangements made and thus be able to explain them to the Admiralty, whose approbation he had to acquire before finally ordering the engravings. So, the next day being Sunday, Mrs. Flinders went to church while Flinders attended on Sir Joseph with governor Bligh present. To his surprise Flinders found the governor more supportive than he had expected, while Sir

Joseph had not till then been aware of the extent of the length of the Australian coastline that had been so accurately mapped. The following day, Mr. Arrowsmith came with some charts of Bass's Strait and sent his nephew to reduce D'Entrecasteau's Archipelago for engraving. Then Samuel called to enter the dates of his observations in the log book.

The many aspects of the work were beginning to emerge. The charts had to be redrawn in most cases, then reduced, checked, engraved and checked again. The log books had to be completed with Samuel's observations, which should have been done on the voyage back to England, but for Wreck Reef. The latitudes and longitudes had to be checked and amended with aid of the revised tables, by then available from the Hydrographic Office, which involved numerous calculations in conjunction with Mr. Crosley, the Investigator's astronomer who left the ship at Cape Town, leaving the astronomical clocks and records in the indifferent hands of Samuel, who had been assisting him till he left. Nevertheless, Samuel was probably a better mathematician than his brother, once he put his mind to it. As for writing up the voyage, this was to be entirely in Flinders' hands. First a rough copy had to be made of the Introduction and circulated for approval. After the suggested alterations had been inserted, Flinders wrote out a fair copy for further circulation, followed by corrections. The remainder of the work was divided into three volumes plus appendices, all of which had to be written at least twice before being submitted to the printers. The first proof had to be carefully checked for errors and second proofs likewise. Finally, Flinders checked the printed sheets for errata. The whole process took three and a half years and probably represented the most unique production of one man in the whole of maritime history.

The various stages in the production of the work were fairly well defined. To begin with, it was first essential that Samuel's observations should be incorporated with his brother's log and observation books and this task required his attendance for several days between January 28th. and February 14th., although Flinders did have cause to write that *he gets on most slowly*. Meanwhile, Sir Joseph was keen to keep control of the selection of illustrations with Flinders and Mr. Westall. They chose 11 of the latter's sketches and paintings and examined Mr. Bauer's collection of his drawings of quadruped, birds, fishes and insects. Three weeks later, Flinders called on Sir Joseph to view Mr. Westall's drawings of Port Jackson. The artist had fixed a price of 20 guineas for each drawing or painting and suggested that each engraving would cost 40 guineas. Young Arrowsmith brought the first examples of his reductions of charts for the engraver, which Flinders took a whole day to examine, after which he began to prepare further charts, beginning with Grimes' chart of Port Phillip Bay in conjunction with his own on which he spent three days, followed by his own chart of Bass's Strait, incorporating Mr. Grimes' chart of King Island after he had reduced it. He then turned his attention to Western Port, commencing by obtaining from the Hydrographical Office Mr. Barralier's sketches of it and the Hunter river.

However, Flinders was not at this stage so continuously occupied on the work. Ten days elapsed before returning to his charts: in the meantime, among other affairs, he had written his observations on the Isle of France for Mr. Yorke and replied to letters from that island, sending at the same time Quarterly Reviews and monthly magazines to M. Pitot. Samuel continued to engage occasionally, one day trying to relate the moon's altitude to the longitude and on another assisting his brother with astronomical observations, which task was completed on March 7th.

At last Flinders had an audience with Sir Joseph to meet Mr. Nicol, whom he had selected to print the Voyage. Sir Joseph had arranged on the previous day for Mr. Pye to engrave the drawing of Port Jackson and Flinders met him two days later at Mr. Westall's along with Mr. Nicol and his son, in order to agree on the size of the plates at 9.5 inches long by 6 or 6.5 inches in height. After another week without working on his charts, Flinders returned to them and over two days completed his chart of Bass's Strait. He was then ready to approach Mr. Grimes, who lent him his examination of the upper part of Port Dalrymple and the track to the Derwent and this he passed on for copying by young Arrowsmith. This led Flinders to commence his chart of Van Dieman's Land, interspersed with preparing charts for the engraver of Port Dalrymple and the Tamar River which he sent to him, while proceeding with the chart of East Coast from Cape Howe in the south to Port Stephens, considerably to the north of Port Jackson. However, during this period of intense social and business activity, only two or three hours on three or four days a week could be found for this work. It was to be aided by charts and sketches selected by Flinders on April 9th, from the archives of the Colonial Office. On Good Friday, April 12th., Flinders spent the whole day on the one chart, a foretaste of work schedules to come.

On April 5th. Mr. Pond, the astronomer royal and Mr. Hurd, Hydrographer, called by order of the Board of Longitude to see Flinders' astronomical observations and to judge on the propriety of their being recalculated and published. At Sir Joseph's on April 13th., Flinders learnt that the Astronomer Royal had reported that the observations were suitable for recalculating and publishing and that the report would be made to the Board of Longitude in June. This was eventually to lead to a great number of calculations being made by Mr. Crosley and Samuel followed by their incorporation in the Voyage. To begin with, Flinders met Mr. Pond at Sir Joseph's on April 25th., when it was agreed that he should give at once some observations to Mr. Crosley for recalculation. Two days later, Mr. Pond sent a note authorising Flinders to set Mr. Crosley and Samuel to work on recalculating the astronomical observations. Two days after that, Mr. Crosley and Samuel called and took away all the observation books. Flinders, who had been working longer hours at the charts in the last three weeks, was preparing them for the engraver, when he switched to writing the Introduction to the Voyage in consideration of the errors in the lunar tables for 1801, 1802 and 1803, which after being corrected by the recalculations, could require all the charts to be reconstructed, using the longitudes so corrected.

Thus began the writing of the Introduction to the Voyage on May 3rd., six months after arriving in England. In spite of previous thoughts, Flinders still returned to the charts, particularly in the mornings, while writing in the evenings. However, he was still spending more time in calls than on the work. On one call, he obtained Mr. Barrallier's sketch of Port Hunter and transferred it to his chart on a reduced scale. Afterwards, he abridged the entrance of the ports from Mr. Barrallier's, governor Hunter's and his own surveys. Meanwhile he put titles to Mr. Westall's views of the south coast of Australia.

On May 15th., Flinders returned to the Introduction at last, between incorporating D'Entrecasteau's and captain Heywood's observations into his map of Timor over several days. By May 27th., the Introduction became the priority. In the meanwhile, having finished putting titles to Westall's seaviews on May 22nd., four days later, Flinders met Mr. Westall and Mr. Arrowsmith at Sir Joseph's when arrangements were made for engraving the views and Mr. Westall paid 30 guineas for drawing them.

Throughout most of June, Flinders only returned to the Introduction spasmodically, there being many calls on his time, particularly as Miss Tyler and Henrietta were his guests. On the 22nd. Samuel and Mr. Crosley called informing him that the recalculations of the Investigator's observations were still in suspense, in spite of them being authorised by the Astronomer Royal on April 22nd. Flinders immediately went to captain Hurd upon the matter. On the 4th. of July he called again on Mr. Hurd only to be informed that nothing had been settled.

Writing the Introduction required research into the journeys of previous explorers. One by one, Flinders was borrowing the various accounts, commencing with Entrecasteau's Voyage from Mr. Arrowsmith, Bampton's account of the Torres' Strait and Collins' and Mann's account of New South Wales, Tasman's first voyage and the first volume of Cook's second voyage from Sir Joseph who gave him a note for the Librarian at the British Museum, where he was able to see the fine old French Chart by John Rotz of 1542.

On July 16th. Flinders went to Sir Joseph's with a specimen of the engraving for the sea views, for each of which 3.5 guineas was the charge. Sir Joseph thought he could get it done for less, but when Flinders called two days later, he had not been successful and told Flinders to let Arrowsmith's engraver get on with them. That same day, Flinders received a letter specifying the resolution of the Board of Longitude concerning the astronomical observations; and from Admiral Hunter, Bass's journal. He then took two days off to visit Mr. Thomas Wilson, an old friend of his father's, at Ives Place, Maidenhead, arriving back at 10pm on Saturday 20th. after a four hour journey.

Flinders then began to write at his Introduction almost daily, sometimes for the whole day. To this end, all the accounts of earlier explorers were of significance, since the Introduction was mainly a history of the exploration of and around Australia including his own journeys up till 1800. However, his writing was often forsaken for calls on Standert's, Arrowsmith's, Mr. Balintine, the printer, Mr. Bonner and Sir Joseph. On Thursday 25th. he went with Mr. Westall to meet Mr. Nicol at Sir Joseph's. Two of Mr. Westall's paintings were approved after a little alteration and Mr. Nicol settled with the engravers for the price. The paintings were to go to the admiralty where they remained outside public view until they were exhibited in Lincoln in March 1974. The remainder of Mr. Westall's headlands were then left

with Arrowsmith for the engraver, Mr. Smith, the price being agreed at three guineas each besides the writing and copper on which the engravings would be made.

From July 27th., Flinders adjourned on most days from writing his Introduction to reconstructing the chart of Kent's Group and then to connecting the Investigator's longitude with the Norfolk's around the north coast of Van Dieman's Land, continuing with those bearings taken from the Francis. In the case of the latter, he found more differences in parts of the Furneaux's Islands, correlated, he presumed, to the granite formations there.

On August 6th., Flinders made his first reference of *writing till dark as usual*. and on the following day to rising at seven, in order to write before breakfast. It must by then have dawned on him that the monumental task, he had embarked on, required continuous application on his part. By August 15th, he had finished writing up the Norfolk's bearings and then returned to the Introduction, completing the account of the voyage in the Francis six days later. He then began to construct a new chart of the Furneaux's Isles which took him till August 2nd., and followed that with redrawing the Northeast coast of Van Dieman's Land afresh. He then continued with the remainder of the island, a task which took him until September 17th in spite of almost daily attention and rising at 6.30am in order to work before breakfast. This chart gave Flinders *an infinity of trouble, having no time-keeper on the Norfolk*. The redrawing had to be followed by making a fair chart which took him till October 9th. to complete.

Meanwhile the recalculations of the observations did not receive further consideration until August 22nd, when the matter was discussed with Sir Joseph and Mr. Pond, in spite of the fact that Mr. Pond had finally authorised the work on April 20th. in a note to Flinders. The cause of these delays is not recorded.

Returning to writing the Introduction on October 11th., Flinders consulted captain Cook's logbook at Sir Joseph's and got his own journals kept on the Providence, which, as regulations required, had been lodged at the Admiralty by Captain Bligh in 1793. On November 3rd, Flinders commenced the fair copy of the Introduction, while continuing with the original or rough copy. Calling on Sir Joseph four days later, the latter offered to ask Lord Liverpool's opinion on the first part of the Introduction, in which the political division of Australia was considered. At the same time, Sir Joseph promised to forward, with his influence, Flinders' request that an allowance of a surveyor be made to him whilst he was writing up the Voyage.

At last, on November 11th., Samuel and Mr. Crosley called declaring their intention to commence the recalculations in earnest. Evidently, the bureaucratic delays had been overcome. Flinders then produced an extract from the Introduction, which he sent to Admiral Bligh, as it concerned the Torres' Strait passage, after having had a long conversation with him on the subject. He made another extract from the Introduction, to be submitted by Sir Joseph to Lord Liverpool, Secretary of state for the Colonies, for his approbation.

In respect of Flinders' request that an allowance be paid to him as a marine surveyor, Sir Joseph undertook to present the letter Flinders wrote, with the advice he had received from Mr. Pearce at the Admiralty. Three days later, Flinders received a letter from the Admiralty granting him an imprest of £200 to be carried to the debt of the voyage, rather than the guinea per day that he had put in for. Sir Joseph later explained that should the £2000, on account of the voyage, given by the Admiralty be thereby expended, he expected more would be contributed and that there could be no reason for him to think he would be called upon to repay the £200. In other words, the Admiralty was unwilling as usual to set a precedent and would rather take the unrevealable course it did.

Flinders was now writing the rough copy of the Introduction more assiduously and when he had to take a day off on November 21st. for social purposes, he noted the fact with regret. At Sir Joseph's conversazione three days later, he met Admiral Bligh and discussed with him the extract from the Introduction he had sent him and likewise with Sir Joseph the extract for Lord Liverpool. They obviously gave him some advice on shortening the Introduction, for on the next day, Flinders spent all the time correcting and abridging the articles in the rough copy. Three days after he had met him, Admiral Bligh sent back the extract of the Introduction with corrections and a note expressing his thanks. At the following Sunday's conversazione, Sir Joseph gave back to Flinders the extract he had made for Lord Liverpool with his comments. Flinders met Admiral Bligh with Sir Joseph again on December 2nd., when they applied names to the islands discovered by Bligh in the Torres' Strait.

By then, Flinders was concentrating on writing the fair copy of the Introduction, often till 10 o'clock in the evening. On Mondays, Mons. Stuart, a Frenchman long resident in London, often called in the evening, and began making such calls a regular habit, forcing Flinders to stop writing, much to his annoyance. Having finished the first quire of the fair copy of the Introduction, he took it to Sir Joseph for his examination, at the same time as he informed Flinders that no solution had been made by the Board of Longitude in respect of Samuel who had written an ill-advised letter to the Board in respect of him being paid for his work in recalculating the longitudes. Samuel subsequently wrote to Sir Joseph, without asking for his brother's advice; the ill-advised letter caused to Sir Joseph to withdraw his support for Samuel in this matter.

On December 9th., Flinders met Mr. Nicol and Mr. Westall at Sir Joseph's relative to Mr. Smith's engravings of headlands, only one being considered in need of correction. At the same time, Sir Joseph returned the first quire of the Introduction, having approved both the style and plan. Mr. Nicol was then given it to read and returned it the next day with a letter of approval. On December 13th., Flinders again went to Sir Joseph's, when the cost of engraving and supply of copper for the 14 seaviews was settled for £98. Having finished the second quire of the fair Introduction, Flinders took it to Mr. Nicol and discussed the arrangement of the work with him. Five days later, Mr. Nicol called, returning it with his praises.

As in the Isle of France, Christmas Day was a working day, Flinders writing all day and evening, thus completing the Norfolk's voyage in the rough, which he corrected the following day. That evening, the most undesirable controversy broke out between Flinders and Samuel. Against Flinders' advice, Samuel, as a result of Sir Joseph declining to take up his case for being recompensed as a calculator, had written to Mr. Pond in what must have been no uncertain terms. When he did not get any support from Mr. Pond, he had written again, withdrawing himself and his books from the recalculation. It was on this matter that Samuel had called that evening much to his brother's disgust. The next day, Flinders acted promptly. After he had informed Sir Joseph, he obtained from the Board of Longitude an extract of the minutes relative to the £200 given to Samuel in 1808. He then wrote to Mr. Crosley at 70, Leonard Street, Finsbury Square, to bring all the books and call to see how far the recalculations could extend without Samuel's books. Strangely, that evening, Samuel came to dine and, as he departed, Flinders requested him to deliver all the books not belonging to himself. Samuel countered that he laid claim to all the books that had been either wholly or in part written by himself; but he requested a day to consider what answer he should make.

The following day, that answer duly arrived, Samuel refusing to give up the books which were owned by Flinders, who remarked that his brother's strange conduct had much affected him. His letter to Samuel the next day had a good effect, as Samuel wrote offering to give up the books as a favour to Flinders, while still refusing to do so as a matter of right. On December 30th. Mr. Crosley called by appointment to see how far the recalculations could be proceeded with in the absence of the books in question. The two then went to see Sir Joseph, who, with his experience of the administration in general and its various departments in particular, declared that if Samuel did not give up the books, a presentation against him would be entered by the Board of Longitude for the books, with the loss for Samuel of all future advance in the Navy and probably the loss of his commission.

At first, Flinders had been unwilling to accept the books on Samuel's terms, but, in order to prevent his naval career being put at risk, he called on Samuel declaring that he accepted the books and his assistance as a favour to himself. Samuel then promised to proceed, although he was hurt that his brother chose not to shake hands with him on departing. Flinders was of the opinion that the matter would be laid before the Board of Longitude, when a compensation could be made to Samuel for his expenses, providing no mention was made of Samuel's attempt to refuse the return of the books. The unhappy episode ended on January 4th. 1812, when Samuel called and it was settled that he should make out the list of recalculations in accordance with the form agreed upon between him and Mr. Crosley. On January 20th., Samuel came to dine for the first time since December 27th.

On December 29th. Flinders completed the rough Introduction. Correcting it took another four days before the fair copy could be continued with. Flinders was then able to take the second quire of the introduction to captain Burney, who returned the first with several pertinent comments. While writing the fair copy of the Introduction on most days, so that he completed it, subject to revision, on January 17th, Flinders called on Mr. Arrowsmith in

respect of the engraving of the charts and then on January 13th. he accompanied Messrs. Roux and Barrault along with the French general Reynaud, in a visit to the British Museum, where he examined a portfolio of Asiatic charts.

The revision of the Introduction, apart from the quire with captain Burney, was completed on January 23rd. and, at last, Flinders commenced the Investigator's voyage: the writing of the Introduction had taken since May 3rd. 1811. The original work came to be divided into three volumes, although, on publication, it was condensed into two. At Sir Joseph's conversazione on January 26th., Flinders discussed the printing of the voyage with Mr. Nicol and met Admiral Bligh, who was taking longer than anticipated in obtaining an interview for Flinders with the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV). However, on February 6th. Flinders met Admiral Bligh again at Sir Joseph's and learnt that the Duke of Clarence had fixed the following Saturday to see him with his charts. With Mr. Brown, now librarian for Sir Joseph, he discussed the writing up of the Botanical side of the voyage and on the following Sunday it was settled with Mr. Brown and Sir Joseph, that the former should write up the Botany of Terra Australis, rendering any reference by Flinders unnecessary. Back at home, Flinders cleaned some of his charts up for presenting to the Duke.

On the Saturday, Flinders duly met rear Admiral Bligh at Mr. Nicol's in Pall Mall. They proceeded to the Palace, where the admiral introduced Flinders to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, to whom he had the honour of showing some of his charts. The Duke asked various questions, some of which indicated a desire to obtain for Flinders the rank of post captain for the time of his imprisonment in the Isle of France.

Writing of the Voyage continued at all hours and by February 12th., Nuyts archipelago had been reached; but on February 25th., Flinders returned to correcting the Introduction for some days, in the midst of which he applied corrections for errors in the lunar and solar tables to the longitudes of the Francis and Norfolk. Then on March 1st., Flinders met Mr. Nicol and Mr. Bauer at Sir Joseph's regarding the natural history drawings for the voyage. It was decided that Mr. Bauer should make a drawing of one plant in outline in order to provide an estimate of the expense of engraving. In these meetings, it seems clear that Sir Joseph's position, as chairman of the publication committee, was to reach agreement, which promoted the excellence of the work, subject to cost, bearing in mind the limit of £2000 provided by the Admiralty.

Meanwhile, the matter of Samuel's expenses was resolved by a letter Flinders wrote for his brother to the Board of Longitude, which was taken to Sir Joseph on March 3rd. On calling at the Hydrographic office three days later, Flinders learnt from Mr. Hurd that the Board had ordered £50 to be paid to Samuel, at first in part. This was far less than an annual remuneration as a calculator, but once again the authorities avoided a precedent by substituting an unrecognised payment. However, it was not until March 6th. 1813, that Flinders received £50 for Samuel, when he called on Mr. Hurd.

By writing till 10pm on many days, Flinders had completed the first volume of the Voyage in the rough and commenced correcting it on March 13th. At the same time, he began a reconstruction of the chart of the South Coast in the rough. Attending the conversazione on March 15th., he learnt from Sir Joseph that Mr. Bauer had finished the drawing of one plant and that he had begun on the other two, while searching for an engraver. On March 22nd, Flinders found it necessary to make a new chart of the Recherche archipelago in greater detail than the main chart of the South Coast.; the latter he returned to six days later, when he found he had to make corrections for the longitudes and latitudes in Samuel's list of their astronomical observations along the Coast so that they could be properly recalculated. This list he took to Samuel only to find that he had been knocked down with a view to robbery near Temple Bar, on Saturday evening, two days before, resulting in a black eye and a swollen face.

The next day, Flinders took his introduction to the Rev. J.S. Clarke for his perusal. Flinders agreed that he should take it with him on his visit to Lord Egremont in the country, when he would show it to his host.

Then, for several days, Flinders was employed on his bearing book, making corrections by a just proportional variation. On April 1st. he called on Samuel in respect of the subject of the observations. Most of the corrections he was making to the first volume comprised additions on differences in the variation. This led on his writing to the Admiralty requesting that observations be made upon the magnetism of two ships in port upon each other. In this connection, he made up a table of variations, which would form an appendix to the work. This was a very lengthy task, which continued over 19 days excluding the week he

spent on the researches into magnetism arranged by the Admiralty at Sheerness (see following section).

On May 31st, Flinders attended the conversazione at Sir Joseph's after completing the experiments at Sheerness and those at Portsmouth that followed. Sir Joseph was greatly impressed by the success of the experiments and considered that Flinders should make out a full account, in spite of the delay that would cause to the writing up of the Voyage. Flinders conversed with Mr. Brown and Mr. Nicol. He mentioned no other guests, implying that the company gathered there were not particularly interested in his accomplishments, resulting in his confining his discussions, as always on these Sunday evenings, to the specialists in his field.

After calling on Sir Joseph on June 3rd., Flinders found that the Board of Longitude was meeting that day. He thereupon went to Samuel and took the list of astronomical observations that he had just completed, to the Board. While in the Admiralty, he saw a new timekeeper, invented by Mr. Grimaldi, apparently on a construction that was both ingenious and simple. Otherwise, he was busy with his report on the magnetism experiments and making out the accompanying tables.

On June 8th., Flinders called on Mr. Hurd, where he found that his letter concerning his report to the Admiralty, sent in a week previously, was lying on his desk, waiting for his opinion. Mr. Hurd informed him that the Board of Longitude had asked the Astronomer Royal to consult with Mr. Crosley upon the proper amount of expenses to be paid to Samuel and to report to the Board at its next meeting in December. This would seem to be contrary to, or in addition to, the £50 Mr. Hurd had informed Flinders of on March 6th. In respect of the report, Flinders received an order from the Admiralty, on June 11th., to prepare it. Enclosed were his original reports from Sheerness and Portsmouth, together with one from Plymouth, where little or no differences were found, using the brig *Orestes*.

The report for the Admiralty took all the time Flinders could spare over six days to complete in the rough and then rephrase and correct it. Writing out a fair copy took the next ten days, after which he took it to Samuel to read. When Samuel returned the report, Flinders made a copy for the Admiralty and finally handed it in on July 6th., 25 days after receiving the Admiralty's order to compile it. On the next day, Flinders returned to the Voyage, examining the first rough volume, continuing to do so as time permitted until July 16th. The following day, he worked on the table of the Investigator's variations which he had begun five days earlier. He was then ready to commence the second volume of the Voyage.

In the meanwhile, Flinders had been to the Admiralty, where he found his report, which he had handed in a week before, had been referred to captain Hurd, who had not even looked at it. He spoke of it being referred to the Astronomer Royal or to the Board of Longitude. Flinders concluded that no body at the Admiralty felt sufficiently competent to form an opinion on it, so that his discovery ran the risk of being neglected. So he called on Sir Joseph to acquaint him with the delay and a week later called again. On that occasion, Sir Joseph, using his best diplomatic form of speech, authorised Flinders to tell Mr Hurd that, if the Admiralty requested his opinion, he would gladly give it. When Flinders mentioned this proposal to Mr. Hurd, he said he would that day recommended the Board to consult Sir Joseph on the matter. Thus was no official at the Admiralty taking any responsibility for proceeding with the report, while at the same time not neglecting it. Clearly, the *Yes, Minister* attitude was well embedded as early as 1812! Sir Joseph eventually received the report, but sent it to Major Rennel for his comments. These he handed to Flinders on August 13th. and when Flinders took his observations on the comments back to Sir Joseph the next day, the latter seemed unwilling to recommend its printing and distribution. However, on August 24th., Flinders received a letter from the Admiralty, requiring him to make out summary to be printed and issued to every naval officer. He later learnt from Mr. Barrow that a brief report of two or three pages was required, incorporating instructions to enable officers to make further observations. Flinders worked on this at once and sent it in on August 26th. At last, on September 23rd. the Admiralty sent him nine copies of the abridged paper, of which he hastily despatched copies to captain Joseph Cotton of the India Directory, Dr. Burney of Gosport, and to the Editor of the Naval Chronicle, who published it the next month.

The months of July and August 1812 seem to have been the busiest socially for Flinders in all his time in London. Relations, friends, acquaintances and those seeking help were constantly calling and at the same time he was frequently returning visits and dining out in company with Mrs. Flinders. Then he had to visit Mr. Crosley with Samuel regarding their astronomical observations. Correcting the list of latitudes on Samuel's list for

Mr. Crosley, took time over three days. The Voyage nevertheless progressed steadily and by August 24th. he had reached the top end of the Barrier Reef. He then moved on to his charts while the lighter days lasted, often working on the charts in the daytime, commencing with that of King George's Sound and correcting the second rough volume in the evening. On August 31st., he commenced the chart of Nuyt's Archipelago and had got as far as he could with it by September 4th. without the recalculated astronomical observations. To aid in this chart making, he went to Troughton's and bought a parallel ruler, before going on with the chart of the Cape Catastrophe area and the remainder of the South Coast. At the same time, Flinders was writing an appendix on magnetism of the Investigator. On September 26th., he was working on the chart of Port Phillip and two days later began the fair copy of the first volume. On October 2nd., he began a chart of the east coast, which caused him some difficulty since he had not marked on his original charts the direction of the ship's head, leading to uncertain variation on the shore. On October 20/22nd., he returned to the chart of King George's Sound and finished it on two scales.

The problem of variations continued. Flinders and Samuel examined tables of observations over four days, when some errors were found by Samuel in the tables. As a result, Flinders had to regulate his standard correction for the variations on board the Investigator. Although the basis on which Flinders made the surveys in the first place was inherently sound, particularly as all the bearings were made were either from the land or from one ship, the Investigator, the fact that the tables used were merely the best available in 1801 and that the effect of the ship's magnetism had to be allowed for, meant that two or even three recalculations were required. This entailed an enormous amount of work, not merely the recalculations but also the adjustments on the charts. It is not surprising that the endless attention given to this work resulted in the first coastal charts that were to stand the test of time for up to 130 years after publication.

In the course of November, work continued on the chart of the East Coast, Flinders finishing it, subject to revisions for recalculated observations, on November 22nd., and in making a fair copy of Volume I. In a good evening, Flinders would write five pages fair as in fact he noted on November 18th. Mr. Westall continued to produce paintings from his sketches and these, one by one, were shown to Sir Joseph by him and Flinders together with the engravings of earlier paintings. By the end of November, Flinders was correcting rough Volume 2 by his new charts of the east coast and writing fair Volume I in the evenings. Writing fair Volume 2 commenced in evenings from December 11th., while the writing in the rough recommenced on December 15th. Writing fair Volume 1 was completed on December 23rd.

Christmas day saw Flinders drawing up statements and making tables of corrections to time-keepers longitude in respect of the South Coast, which he followed by making tables of latitudes and longitudes on the South Coast, in readiness for Mr. Crosley to fill. The writing of fair Volume 2 began on December 29th. On visiting Sir Joseph on January 6th. 1813. Flinders found he had got all the plates for the voyage into his own possession, apart from one which Mr. Nicol had mislaid or lost; that was another indication of lax routine in offices, so different from the situation later on in that century.

On February 1st. Flinders commenced on a chart of Arnhem Bay, at the very northern end of the west side of the Gulph of Carpentaria, having contacted Mr. Crosley in respect of the fixed points in the Gulph on February 16th. Two days later, he called on Mr. Crosley in respect of the astronomical observations. However, most of Flinders' time in the first half of February was taken up with writing rough and fair Volume 2. Thus on February 13th., he was on Chapter 11 in the rough and fair Chapter 5 in the evening. Then on February 18th. he began writing an article on the magnetism of ships and of the land as an Appendix to Volume 2. This he finished in fair copy on March 2nd. and the following day commenced rough Volume 3., while still writing Volume 2 fair in the evenings. Meanwhile, Mr. Nicol was still coming along with plates for the Voyage and Flinders began to look for a young man to copy his charts, prior to their being engraved. On March 23rd. Mr. Brown returned Volume 1 with his notes upon it. Then on March 28th. and April 1st., Flinders was examining the chapters on Mauritius in Volume 3 and correcting them, completing the revision on April 14th., before moving on to the correction of the fair copy of the Introduction.

Eventually, on April 8th., Mr. Crosley brought Flinders the Observation Book of latitudes and time keeper's longitudes, but, as he noted, the Book did not contain quite all the corrected observations. These missing ones were brought along by Mr. Crosley on April 17th. Flinders had spent time on ten different days in copying onto the charts the corrected results of the astronomical observations and correcting the table of longitudes along the

South Coast so that the charts could be reconstructed. In the course of this work Flinders found some differences, causing him to go to Mr. Crosley, but, finding him out, examined his book and found two errors. On returning, he compared all Mr. Crosley's calculations on the South Coast with the original ones, noted the differences which suggested error, and sent a note of those differences to Mr. Crosley, who sent back the corrected observations six days later. One evening, Mrs. Flinders helped to check the copying of the observations. Then, finally, the observations in the text of Volume 1 had to be corrected.

The work on the reconstruction of the charts was commenced on April 24th., beginning with the first chart and a large scale chart of Port Lincoln. By May 11th. Flinders was working at the Recherche Archipelago. The search for a young man to copy and reduce the charts had commenced at the end of February and on June 12th., young Arrowsmith brought Flinders the second chart reduced. On some evenings, he was writing fair Volume 2, having corrected the rough copy. On May 20th., with Volume 3 completed in the rough, Mr. Nicol prepared to advertise the Voyage immediately; which turned out to be 14 months prior to the date of publication. Flinders had just the day before put titles to the plates Mr. Nicol intended to show in this connection to the public. Meanwhile. Mr. Bulmer had been engaged by Mr. Nicol to print the Voyage.

On July 14th. Flinders took three quires of Volume 2 to Mr. Brown for him to correct any references to natural history. Two weeks later, Flinders began on the charts of the East Coast. He now had sheets 3 and 4 of the South Coast back from T. Arrowsmith, reduced. In the meantime, he had been working, sometimes all day and evening on the charts, but more usually, when possible, he continued copying fair Volume 2 in the evenings, starting on Chapter 10 by July 23rd. Eight days later, Mr. Nicol and Mr. Bulmer called and it was agreed that printing should commence forthwith. So Flinders, later that day, examined the Introduction for the press and on August 3rd., took part of the Introduction to Mr. Bulmer, that he might print it. Six days later, the first printed sheet was delivered. On July 31st. Mr. Westall came with the painting of Wreck Reef, the last for the Voyage.

After nearly three weeks, Mr. Brown returned the three quires of Volume 1 with his noted comments, and August 4th. Flinders went with him to see Sir Joseph at Spring Grove, where he was convalescing after a long illness, in order to discuss the approaching publication of the Voyage. There, they met Mr. Rickman, secretary to the Speaker of the House of Commons, walked over the gardens, dined and returned home at 10pm.

Flinders finished the East Coast chart up to Port Jackson on August 7th. and then began to correct the narrative along the South Coast to make it conform to the charts. This took four days, after which Flinders began entering the East Coast observations and correcting them. After working all one day on this task, the entries were checked by Mrs. Flinders reading them off as Flinders compared them.

The business of printing had to come to Flinders' notice. First, Mr. Bulmer called to settle about it. Then, after Flinders had seen Mr. Brown and Mr. Arrowsmith, Mr. Foudrinier, the manufacturer of the paper for the book and the charts, called. On August 14th., Flinders, having examined the first quire for the printers, took it to Mr. Bulmer's and then left with Mr. Arrowsmith a list of the remaining charts, so that the copper could be ordered.

On the same day, a controversy arose over the use of the term *Terra Australis*. At first, Sir Joseph, like others, had approved of its use, but then he had come to the opposite conclusion, having apparently forgotten what he had previously said. Mr. Brown was probably responsible for this change of stance. Flinders promptly wrote a note to Major Rennell, as he believed that the matter had been discussed by him with Sir Joseph. Two days later, Major Rennell replied, encouraging Flinders to write to Sir Joseph. Two days after so doing, Sir Joseph replied, withdrawing his opposition to the use of the name *Terra Australis* to the combined territory of New South Wales and New Holland.

Meanwhile Flinders had been steadily getting down to the routine of working at the East Coast charts during the day and writing fair Volume 2 or attending to proof sheets and preparing the second quire for the printer in the evening. The fair Volume 2 was completed on September 3rd., and writing fair Volume 3 commenced the following day. Correcting the second quire of the Introduction took seven evenings and the third quire was not started on till September 16th. Proof sheets continued to arrive from the printer, and these had to be corrected promptly, taking time away from work on the charts. Sheet five of the charts reduced by young Arrowsmith was examined on September 3rd. and the following two days. Then Flinders began on the Barrier Reef chart and a week later on that of the Torres'

Strait. It was apparent to Flinders that his task was now in the most complicated stage and, as time was everything since Mr. Nicol was clearly pressing for publication, Flinders wrote on September 11th. to Mons. Stuart, requesting him to desist from making his usual Monday evening calls, with which the latter immediately complied.

Mr. Crosley was still being called upon to finalise certain observations. Thus Flinders went to him on September 21st for the observation books, which he used from time to time both for the narrative and the charts. Visits to the printers, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Brown and Mr. Arrowsmith were continually being made, indicating how Flinders was intimately concerned with the production of the work. He was not satisfied with the standard of the engraving of the charts and on October 2nd., he decided he must attend to the engraving more closely. So he asked Mr. Arrowsmith to speak to the engravers. Three days later, Flinders went to meet the engravers and, presumably, that had some effect as he did not refer to the matter again.

On October 1st. Flinders finished the chart of Torres' Strait and over the next two days compared the narrative with the chart. He then began a sheet of the Gulph of Carpentaria. At times he was in the evenings comparing and copying astronomical observations as well as correcting proof sheets. The printers had by then the whole of the Introduction and on October 6th. Flinders began preparing the first quire of the Voyage for them. He only finished it on October 10th., by working all day and evening on the 9th. and all the following day. After taking the first quire to the printer the next day, Flinders was working on the chart of the Gulph in the day and on the second quire in the evening. The quire was finally finished on October 21st. after working all day and evening on it. Mr. Nicol sent Flinders the fair printed copy of the Introduction, 204 pages long.

Writing fair Volume 3 had commenced on September 4th. and continued in the evenings, with work on the chart being done in the better light of the day. On October 29th. Flinders taking charts to Mr. Arrowsmith to be reduced for the engravers, called on Mr. Nicol to give him captain Aken's name as a purchaser of the completed work. That occasion was the only one recorded by Flinders of a forward sale. Examining the third quire for the printers commenced on November 3rd. and was completed on the 15th., and the fourth quire likewise on November 21st. The next day Flinders returned to the writing of fair Volume 3, which he did not complete until the end of March.

The time taken to complete the third Volume fair, could only be accounted for by that taken up by the many procedures for correcting the work in its various stages, which all came to a head in that period at the same time as the charts had to be finished off. Thus on November 18th. Flinders was working at the East Coast chart in the day and correcting the last chapter of Volume 1 for the printers in the evening. The following day, it was the same, except that the evening work consisted also of correcting a proof sheet and a revised proof sheet. Meanwhile, visits still had to be made to the Bank, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Arrowsmith, the printers, and others on a fairly regular basis. In addition, the Admiralty had written on November 12th., requesting, on behalf of the Colonial Office, any charts and manuscripts relating to Madagascar that Flinders might have. Some time had to be spent assembling these, and Flinders took them to Mr. Goulburn, under Secretary of State for the Colonies, on November 24th. Lord Bathurst, the minister, desired to have copies made for the use of the department. In addition, Flinders had to attend to Mr. Pitot's business.

In December, the charts still received attention, particularly sheet 3 of the East Coast, the Gulph of Carpentaria, the North Coast Chart, and that for Timor. After being reduced by T. Arrowsmith, Flinders would have to correct the charts for the engravers. On December 20th., he received the first engraved chart from the engravers. which he corrected on December 30th. and the following day went to see both Mr. Arrowsmith and Mr. Nicol concerning the engravings of the charts. Although Flinders did not elaborate, it is clear that he was most particular that every detail on the charts should be as he had drawn it; for the first chart of the South Coast, this entailed not just one, but two proofs.

At the beginning of January 1814, Flinders was still working on the copy for the printers of the Torres' Strait chart. At the same time, he was continuing to prepare quires for the printers of Volume 2. January 8th., a Saturday, found him going to the Bank and ten other places on business. On January 13th. he returned to the Timor chart and worked at it over the following ten days. The evenings were nearly always occupied by examining a quire and correcting a proof sheet. Notably, on January 25th., Flinders had to mark the shades for the engraver of the second chart of the South Coast. Then on the 31st., Flinders had to complain that the reductions of the charts by T. Arrowsmith were proceeding too slowly and

he also had visit Mr. Smith, the engraver, and Arrowsmith's concerning the engraving. The previous evening, he had attended the conversazione at Sir Joseph's, the first time for seven months and also his last. There, he exhibited Plate 4, which was much appreciated.

The 1st of February saw Flinders returning to the Timor chart for a few days and then, on the 7th., he began again to write fair Volume 3, beginning with Chapter 6. Examining proofs of charts and correcting proof sheets had to continue. The Timor chart, the last one, was finally completed on February 16th., and on February 19th. to 21st., Flinders was correcting Plate 11. On February 24th. Mr. Hayes, the surgeon called, as Flinders' became noticeably ill with the symptoms of the terminal illness, which was so soon to end his life.

From the beginning of March, work became increasingly difficult, but for a few weeks, Flinders struggled to continue as before. Thus on March 3rd., he corrected proof sheets and a proof of Van Dieman's Land chart, as well as writing fair Volume 3 and visiting the Bank. The next day, as well as correcting a proof of the text and preparing a quire for the printers, he corrected a proof of Plate 7. March 5th. saw him spending all day on writing fair Book 3., and he returned to it for short periods on March 7th., 10th., 21st., 22nd., 24th., and finally on 25th. without acknowledging its completion. On his 40th. birthday, March 16th., he passed the day examining a drawing of Plate 14, preparing a quire and correcting proof copy. From March 26th., the Journal entries were greatly extended with details of his illness, but still the work went on, the correction of the proof copy of the Gulph of Carpentaria occupying the little time he could devote to it on March 27th. and the following three days.

April 1st. saw Flinders preparing quires for the printers and this work continued nearly every day. On April 4th. and 7th. he corrected Plate 13 and then a second proof of it. Finally, on April 9th. and 10th., he began to prepare Appendices 1 and 2 for the printers and returned to complete the task on the 16th. to 18th. On April 19th., he began to write the title page and the preface to the Voyage and continued to do so on 21st. and 23rd. The next day, Flinders was seeking out materials to fill up the general chart. On April 28th. he returned to writing the preface and Table of Contents. The following day, he put titles to the two plates of views of headlands, which he continued with the next day, when in the evening he corrected a proof sheet of the second Appendix..

From the beginning of May Flinders was almost completely handicapped by his terminal illness. He could rarely write for more than half an hour at a time; but still there were minor jobs to do. He was again putting titles to the headlands for the engraver on the first two days and on May 2nd. and 3rd. he was continuing to make out the Table of Contents. May 5th. saw him revising the Preface. The following day he corrected the last sheet of Appendix 2 to Volume 2 and on the next three days he was examining the General Chart for the engraver, an exercise in which leaning forward caused him much pain. On May 9th. and 10th., he made out a list of positions to enable T. Arrowsmith to complete the tracks of the Investigator on the General Chart. Examining for Errata commenced on May 11th., when he also examined the Preface. He checked a proof of the north-west side of the Gulph of Carpentaria on May 12th., and on the 13th. Mr. Brown called with proofs of the ten Botanical Notes. After several days without attending to the work, Flinders examined corrections to the General Chart on May 18th. and on the following two days he examined a proof sheet of the Preface. On May 22nd. he examined a proof sheet or two and two days later he checked a proof sheet of the Gulph of Carpentaria, finishing it on May 26th. After several occasions searching for Errata, he wrote out the List on May 27th. Finally, on May 28th., Flinders examined the last half sheet in proof of the Voyage. This completed his great task with not a moment to spare.

On Sunday June 26th. Mr. Brown called for the last time with the news that he had obtained from Mr. Nicol, a copy of the Voyage and Atlas to put on Sir Joseph Banks' table at the last conversazione scheduled for some time. On June 29th., Mr. Arrowsmith brought along proofs of all the charts of the Atlas and Flinders gave him a note for Sir Joseph, expressing his approbation of the engravings - the very last occasion recorded in the Journal on which the great work was mentioned.

The foregoing account of the production of the text and Atlas of the Voyage leaves no doubt that Flinders persevered to the end without departing from his extremely high standards of accuracy. Although he commenced writing the voyage in May 1811, it was not till late in that year that he stepped up his working time and throughout 1813, his time was given almost completely to the work: so much so, that he considered his illness was accentuated by

lack of exercise. It is notable that he only dined out in London seven times in 1813 as against 39 times in the period 1811-13. The finer details of his attention to the work in the last six months provide a sorrowful record of his constant battle to get the task completed at all costs, like a rock climber on a vertical face.

The publication of the Voyage in two volumes plus Atlas on July 18th., the day before Flinders' death, must have appeared in retrospect as an anticlimax. There was no rush of buyers and many volumes were left unsold. It was almost as if the great work was seen as an academic production: the practical world had moved on and the war with France still continued. At the same time, the emphasis in exploration of Australia was moving to the interior of that great continent.

### **Experiments in respect of ships' magnetism**

Apart from writing up the Voyage and redrawing the charts, the most important episode during Flinders' last years in England was his investigation and proof of the effect of a ship's magnetism on compass bearings. This research took place at two naval ports.

#### **1. At Sheerness**

On April 12th. 1812, Flinders wrote to the Admiralty, requesting observations upon two ships in port, with respect to their magnetism. Five days later, Flinders received an order from the Admiralty to go to Sheerness, to communicate with Sir Thomas Williams and to superintend experiments which the Admiralty had directed him to institute. Accordingly, Flinders set off at noon on Sunday the 19th. and arrived at Chatham at 7pm, just in time to catch the boat for Sheerness. He landed by the Fountain Inn at Blue Town at midnight.

After breakfast the next morning, he called on rear admiral Sir Thomas Williams, but found him unwell. However, he was able to see him at noon, when it was agreed that Flinders should go out to the Helder frigate lying at the Nore in company with a naval captain and the master attendant at the dockyard in order to take some bearings. In the meantime, he dined with Sir Thomas and Lady Williams along with Mr. Williams, secretary, an intelligent surgeon and some ladies.

As planned, Flinders went off the next morning to the gun-brig Starling with Mr. Douglas, master attendant, and captain New of the Raisonable. Alas! no preparations had been made, and the brig being lumbered and inconvenient, it was found impossible to use the azimuth compass. At the same time, it was not possible to select a good object on the Essex coast. The only possibility was to use the steering compass of the brig and to take bearings by hand. The selected object was the telegraph upon a hill at the back of Queenborough, but the bearings could only be obtained with the vessel's head in four positions over a restricted part of the compass since the tide and the wind rendered it difficult to maintain the head even in those four positions. Variations of up to 8 degrees were found, and with these inconclusive results, Flinders and Mr. Douglas boarded the Helder, captain New having been called away. Flinders dined with captain Searle and agreed to return the following day, it being sunset by the time he returned to shore.

After delivering his report of the first day's efforts, Flinders went out in a sailing boat to the Nore with Mr. Douglas. There they boarded the Helder frigate and were joined by captain Austen of the Namur and Lt. Napier of the Starling. With the head of the Helder in three different positions, bearings were taken which showed greater differences than those of the previous day, but owing to the stability of the azimuth compass being too great, the results were considered inconclusive. It was agreed to repeat the experiments the following morning on board the Raisonable lying in the harbour.

Flinders clearly considered that sufficient preparation was not being made for this work. Accordingly, he wrote early the next day to Mr. Douglas asking him to look out all his azimuth compasses and have one or more stands made in the dockyard and, particularly, to let captain New of the Raisonable know that the research party would be on board his ship by 11am. Flinders later on went down to Mr. Douglas' office, whereupon three compasses were chosen and tried and found to agree within 30'. However, owing to a misunderstanding, no stands were prepared! The party boarded by 11am, but it was 1pm. before the necessary preparations could be made and, even then, there was neither capstan nor snatch block for the hawsers on board the ship. With three different compasses in various positions, bearings were taken with the ship's head from W1/2N to N.E. The differences were small, but the same way as before. With the wind blowing hard, operations were prematurely suspended.

At that point, Flinders took special care to acknowledge his satisfaction with the hospitable and polite attention of captain New and also with the zeal of Mr. Douglas and Lt.

Napier on each day of the operations. A 9am. start was agreed for the fourth and final day. Flinders went on board the *Raisonable* in time for an early breakfast with captain New and, for once, everything was pretty well prepared by 9am. Fortunately, the ship moved with much greater ease and bearings round the circle of the compass were completed in spite of passing squalls. Flinders contended that the bearings were accurate to within half a degree and that the results confirmed his belief that altering the ship's head resulted in constant differences in the bearings. These were much more regular on the *Raisonable* than on the other vessels, although, whereas the greatest differences had been found near the binnacles of the other vessels, in the *Raisonable*, these were greatest near the foremast, which he attributed to there being no guns in the three aftermost ports of either deck.

Flinders went on shore to Mr. Douglas' office, made out his report and, fair copies being made of all the reports, these were signed by the officers who had been present. Finally, Flinders took them to the admiral's office, dined at the Fountain, and boarded the sailing boat laid on to take him to Chatham, arriving just after 11pm. in time to catch the midnight coach back to town.

Having arrived home at 6.30am., Flinders, after drawing up his expenses account, amounting to £5. 2s. 9d., settled down to making observations on the experiments and preparing a letter to the Admiralty upon the matter, posting it the following evening. Calling on Sir Joseph, Flinders informed him of the general results of the experiments at Sheerness, but when he went on to the Admiralty, he found that the Sheerness reports had not reached captain Hurd. However, the hydrographer said that he would recommend that Flinders should attend the experiments going on at Portsmouth and Plymouth, (for which Mr. Inman, master of the Royal Academy, had ordered a dipping needle), as he considered the discovery to be one of the greatest importance to navigation.

## **2. At Portsmouth**

Then on Saturday evening, May 9th., Flinders received an order from the Admiralty to attend the experiments at Portsmouth. He went immediately to Mr. Troughton, but found that the instruments ordered by Mr. Inman would not be ready for a few days. Calling for the third time, four days later, he found the dipping needle ready, and so he took his place in the mail for Portsmouth that evening. After dining early, he took a coach to the Angel Inn and at 6pm. set off in the Chichester mail. With travelling rather slow, this arrived at Chichester at 6.30am. After breakfasting, Flinders went on to Portsmouth, arriving at 11am. After dressing and taking a second breakfast, he called on Sir Richard Bickerton, the commander in chief, to whom he presented his order from the Admiralty. The *Loire*, refitting, was chosen to make the experiments and her commander, captain Schomberg sent for; and the necessary arrangements were made. The captain then took Flinders along to meet the commissioner Grey and the master attendant, Mr. Park, an old friend of Flinders. Further arrangements were made with Mr. Park's assistant, Mr. Payne, who would be attending the experiments, concerning the positioning of *La Loire* and other necessary preparations. Flinders then called on Mr. Inman with the dipping needle and to discuss the compasses and other instruments to be used. After booking in at the Crown Inn, Flinders went to dine with captain Schomberg.

The following morning, Flinders breakfasted with Mr. and Mrs. Park in the dockyard and then took a lodging at No. 2 on the Common Hard, paying two guineas a week for two rooms. He then went to Mr. Inman, when several hours were spent retouching and trying a set of compasses. The day ended with dinner at Mr. Park's, where there were also captains Bisset of the *Denmark* and Epworth of the *Nymph*. The next day was spent with Mr. Inman, starting with breakfast and ending with dinner. Between whiles all the time was spent in the Cupola of the Naval College, trying compasses, a theodolite and taking a dip of the needle.

Sunday followed and Mr. Park accompanied Flinders to the Chapel, to hear Dr. Scott, whom Flinders had met at Mrs. King's. Later, Flinders called on Dr. Burney and saw Andrew Hollingworth, who persisted in his desire to go to sea. Later, dining with the Parks, Flinders met captain Procter, a relative, who was commissioned in the Navy, but was employed in the packet service.

On Monday 18th., in the light of his experiences in Sheerness, Flinders went off with Mr. Payne to *La Loire* to point out what was required in preparation for the experiments which would be commenced the following day. He later called on Dr. Scott with whom he had lunch, and then spent the afternoon with Mr. Inman, occupied with the

instruments, with Mr. Stebbing, a compass maker, attending. In the evening, he dined with Mr. Inman.

Early the next morning, Flinders went off with Mr. Inman and Mr. Payne to La Loire with the instruments. In spite of the previous day's arrangements, it was some time before the frigate was ready for bearings to be taken. When they were completed at the six stations, with the head at east and southeast, it began to rain, and observations ceased before those at south could be undertaken. Back at his lodgings at 5pm. Flinders employed himself till 11pm. revising the day's work.

The following morning, Flinders breakfasted early and went off at 8.30 with Mr. Inman, Mr. Payne and Mr. Stebbing to La Loire. The frigate was nearly in her station and, in the course of the day, the bearings were completed. At the same time, Flinders took the dips of the needle at various directions of the ship's head, and at all stations, the better to ascertain the point of attraction of the frigate. A hasty luncheon had been eaten while working on board, and it was 8.30pm. before Flinders could get dinner at his lodgings.

The next morning, Flinders met captain Schomberg, Mr. Inman and Mr. Payne in respect of drawing up the reports of the previous day's experiments. Later, he went to Mr. Stebbing's to see some new steering compasses being constructed for Sir Home Popham. After that, Flinders waited on admiral Sir Richard Bickerton in order to request that he would order a small vessel on which a second set of experiments could be carried out in Stokes Bay the following Monday, for which the Devastation Bomb was fixed. In the late afternoon, Flinders went with Mr. Payne to Porchester, where, from Nelson's Pillar on Post-down Hill, he took back bearings of the Buoy boat's mast lying at the moorings in Stokes Bay. Always remembering French prisoners, he called on M. Boucherville on board the Wettron prison ship. Finally, he worked till midnight on writing up the dips and bearings already taken.

On Friday 22nd., Mr. Stebbing called and they went off in the Buoy sailing boat to La Loire in order to take some observations with the dipping needle and on the gangways with the compass. Although the frigate was unmooring in order to proceed to Spithead, captain Schomberg took the swivel moorings in again so that Flinders, with the aid of Mr. Swain, the master, could take some observations on the gangway and in a lighter alongside and, with the aid of Mr. Stebbing, others with the dipping needle in the lower parts of the frigate's decks. The next day, Flinders was occupied with arranging the bearings and dips into tables, from which to make deductions, in the morning and in the evening till 11pm. He made an afternoon call on Dr. Burney to whom he promised an article on the magnetism of ships for his new edition of Talemer's Marine Dictionary.

On the Sunday, Flinders dined with the Parks after attending chapel. Mr. Clark, the pilot called and Flinders gave him a note for the commander of the Devastation outlining the preparations needed for the next day's experiments. The rest of the day was taken up with consideration of the bearings already taken. For some reason, it was agreed on Monday morning that no experiments on the Devastation could take place till Tuesday, so Flinders spent the day with La Loire's bearings endeavouring to ascertain the attracting point in that ship. He concluded that further observations were needed on La Loire, but it had left for Spithead. He dined with Mr. Inman, whom Flinders noted had not brought the instrument for ascertaining the diurnal variation as he did not think it could be used on board a ship!

At last, on the Tuesday morning, Flinders, Messrs. Inman and Payne, and captain W. King of the Cossack went off at 8.30am. to the Devastation Bomb in Stoke's Bay, where they were joined by captain Heywood. Bearings were taken with the head half round the compass. The party dined with captain Alexander of the Devastation and returned on shore at 7pm. The next morning the same party assembled early on the Devastation, when bearings were taken with the ship's head in the remaining points of the compass. After dining again with captain Alexander, shore was regained before 7pm. Flinders occupied himself making tables of the bearings until 11pm.

The experiments completed, the next morning Flinders called to take leave of Mr. and Mrs. Inman and Mr. and Mrs. Park. Then he went over to Ryde with Mr. Payne and, taking a post chaise, went up to the tower at Ashedown in order to take a bearing of the Devastation and of Nelson's Pillar. After lunching at Ryde, he returned to Portsmouth and waited on Sir Richard Bickerton to take leave. Returning to his lodgings, he found an invitation to breakfast with captain Fowler and his party at the George, before setting off in their barouche for London. After dining at his lodgings, Flinders settled his account amounting to £7. 10s. for the fortnight; but it was not until December 12th. that the Admiralty informed

Flinders that an order had been made in respect of his expenses in Sheerness and Portsmouth, amounting to £17. 16s. 1d.

Thus it was that on Friday 29th., Flinders went to the George to breakfast with captain Fowler and at 9.30am. to set off in a barouche and four with him, Mr. Cheer of Cambridgeshire, Mr. Riley of the Admiralty, and Sir Joseph Yorke. Flinders reached home at 8.30pm. The following day, he called on captain Hurd at the Admiralty with regard to the report to be made on the variations observed at Portsmouth.

The completion of these exceptional experiments and their everlasting impact on navigation were thereafter considered to be one of Flinders' great accomplishments. The Admiralty exhibited great perception in reacting so promptly to Flinders' request for the experiments to be carried out, although it does seem that the idea was being pursued at Plymouth, where the results, without Flinders' participation, were so inconclusive. However, at both Sheerness and Portsmouth, there clearly was no conception on how to prepare a vessel for such observations and, when given detailed instructions, how to carry them in time for the declared start, if at all. Even nearly 200 years ago, Flinders as a naval officer, had no time to waste! Dining was the great exception, since for whom you dined with, confirmed your rank, an all important aspect of naval life.

### **Birth of Anne.**

No mention of Mrs. Flinders' pregnancy occurs in the Journal: Miss Isabella Tyler arrives on March 13th. 1812, for no apparent reason. Then abruptly on Wednesday April 1st. Flinders wrote: *This afternoon Mrs. Flinders was delivered of a daughter; to her great joy and mine.* The reason for Isabella's presence was not mentioned in the Journal. On April 5th. Flinders permits himself to record that Mrs. Flinders was going on remarkably well. Then, on April 29th. came the next entry: Anne was put out to a wet nurse, living alone nearby, as her mother's milk was deficient in quantity. The christening took place in Soho on May 7th. at St. Giles in the Field in the presence of the parents, Miss Tyler and the nurse, who was, after the ceremony, sent home with the child, while the elders went on to view Bullock's Museum and Pantheon, described as a fine collection of natural history, tastefully displayed. Mrs. Flinders had made her first walk the previous day. Miss Tyler stayed on till June 1st., when Flinders recorded that he accompanied her to Charing Cross from where she took the coach to Barton on Humber on her way to Beverly to rejoin her mother.

On June 17th. Flinders had reason to write to Dr. Dale about Anne, who fortunately was much better by the following day, when Dr. Dale called. The next mention was not until the nurse brought her home on July 27th. 1813. He noted that she ran stoutly, but could only say a few words, sufficient to make herself understood. Six days later, an operation was performed on Anne to open a part that was discovered to be wrongly closed. In the two weeks from August 15th. she seemed unwell, but by the 29th. this was found to be due to her cutting her molar teeth.

After that Anne is scarcely mentioned in accordance with the practices of such households at that time. In so far as she was only 27 months old when her father died, she had been entirely left to the cares of her mother, assisted by the living-in household maid.

### **The visits of Miss Tyler, Henrietta Flinders and Susanna Pearson**

These took place in the early summer of 1811 for the two maidens and in the late autumn of 1812 for Susanna, Flinders sister. The visits lasted for several weeks but with Susanna's rather shorter, as London was well known to her since she had done her second apprenticeship, lasting one year, at 14, Duke Street, Piccadilly in 1797.

Flinders' half sister, Henrietta, was the first to come, arriving on April 26th. 1811 while Mrs. Flinders' half sister, Isabella Tyler, followed on May 8th. Henrietta, then 20, was living with her mother in Donington, but Isabella, also with her widowed mother, had come from Beverly. It was most probably Isabella who had returned to Mrs Flinders the little box she left behind, which arrived from Beverly on January 22nd. Mrs. Flinders was apt to leave small boxes behind her as she also left a small band box on the ferry boat at Barton on Humber on January 1st. This would appear to be confirmation that she and Flinders had spent Christmas with Mrs. Tyler in Beverly. From the fact that a quantity of luggage arrived from Beverly on April 1st. 1811, it could be surmised that Mrs. Tyler had at last accepted the fact that her daughter was going to reside permanently in London and consequently she would need all her possessions there, rather than in her old home. Otherwise, it might have been more logical for Mrs. Flinders to have packed them all up during her stay and arranged for their prompt despatch to London. It must have been the case that when she went down to London in October 1810 and stayed with Mrs. Procter, in order to be there when Flinders

arrived from South Africa, that, not knowing where he would eventually reside, had only travelled with a minimum of luggage.

Henrietta was just 20 when she came to London, undoubtedly for the first time. It must have been very exciting for her and her brother did his best to show her and Isabella, all the sights. For them both, it was the nearest they would get to being in London during the season, but, of course, they did not attend any of the social functions. The first few days may have been quiet ones for Henrietta, but her half brother Samuel came to dinner on her second evening and they all walked on the streets afterwards till 7pm. Then on Tuesday 30th., her relative, Mr. Willingham Franklin, and also captain W. Major, came to dine. The following Sunday, Henrietta and Mrs. Flinders went to church while Flinders read Man's account of his travels.

With Isabella arriving on May 8th., Flinders began to devote more time to his guests. He actually played chess with her on her second evening, and the following day, Samuel came to dine again. On Saturday 11th, the two Miss Hippins, relatives of Mrs. Flinders, came to dine prior to their being accompanied to the coach at the Royal Exchange. In the following weeks, Flinders put in as much time as he could as is shown by the entry for May 16th., when the ladies went to spend the day at Hackney with the Hippins family, but Flinders spent the time writing till 4pm. and then joined them at dinner there, returning home at 10pm. Generally, weather permitting, Flinders accompanied the ladies for an evening walk along the streets, to the parks, round the squares or down into the City. There were many days when the visitors were shown the sights and galleries, commencing with a visit to Miss Linwood's gallery on May 14th. where they delighted in seeing the panoramas of Malta and Flushing. The next visit was to Mr. Westall's gallery four days later. This must have been of particular interest as it displayed the best available reproduction of the appearance of the Australian landscape.

Sadly, some of the excursions were ill-planned. Thus on May 23rd., Flinders set out to take Henrietta to the Covent Garden Theatre to see Funeur the Tartar, but all the seats were taken. The next day, walking out in the evening, they attempted to see De Bourg's Museum, but it was closed. The following evening, they all went to see Westminster Abbey, and were able to stay till dusk, but Flinders noted that the excursion cost nine shillings (equivalent to £18 in 1999). On Sunday 24th. Flinders accompanied the ladies to church, but afterwards left them to attend Sir Joseph's conversazione. Samuel took Henrietta to Covent Garden after dining with the family on the Monday, on which occasion they got seats.

On June 4th. Flinders took the ladies to see De Bourg's models in cork of the Roman antiquities, arriving this time sufficiently early, for in the evening they walked out to see the few illuminations made for the ill King's birthday. How sad it was that he was considered to be mad at times, when he was in reality suffering from porphyria. On June 6th. Flinders accompanied the ladies to an exhibition at Somerset House, but at 1pm. he left them in the care of Mr. Franklin. The following evening, they all went to see Blackfriars Bridge and to visit Mrs. Bonner, coming home in time for a game of chess that must have gone well, as the following evening chess and tric-trac were played at.

June 8th. saw the family visiting the Galleries of the British Institution, and, in particular, Mr. West's celebrated picture.

On Sundays, Flinders usually accompanied the ladies to church, but on June 9th., Samuel took Henrietta separately to hear the service at the Founding Chapel. June 12th. was one of the more memorable days: they all went to the Guildhall, where Mr. Alderman Goss showed them round, after which they dined at Mr. Procter's in White Cross Street (just north of the Barbican), returning home at 9pm. The next morning, Flinders took Isabella and Henrietta to meet Mrs. Procter, who took them to St Paul's to see the anniversary of the charity children. Sunday attendance on June 16th. was at St. Clement's, where Dr. Hawker preached for the female penitents to an extremely crowded congregation.

The next few days were rather quiet ones, but on June 19th. after an early dinner, they all called on Mr. and Mrs. Eland at Islington and the following evening on Mrs. Procter. The next day, Flinders took them all to see the British Museum and afterwards to see Mr. Bauer's drawings of the plants of Australia. Many of these were unique at the time. On June 25th., they all went to Mrs. Procter's, leaving Henrietta there for four nights, while Isabella returned during the same evening. Then on Saturday June 29th., came the weekend at Richmond. After dining early, the family set off for the Ealing coach to Kew, where they were met by Mr. Walker, who took them to his home at Richmond. That evening they took a walk over Richmond Hill from where there was a fine view of Twickenham and the beautiful

country to the west. The return was made along the banks of the Thames. The next day, Flinders stayed with Mrs. Flinders who had her usual bilious headache, while Mr. Walker took Isabella and Henrietta to Twickenham chapel, followed by a rural walk. In the evening, the whole party visited Kew Gardens, open for the first evening of the summer. The opportunity was taken of calling on Mr. Aiton, the King's gardener, who exhibited his exotic plants, particularly many of those grown from seeds collected during the Investigator's voyage, nearly all of which germinated well. On the Monday morning, Mr. Walker tried to persuade the family to stay and visit Hampton Court, but Flinders resisted on account of his writing. Instead, they came down river on the passage boat and walked home from Chelsea, arriving at 2 o'clock. Isabella and Henrietta must have felt disappointed at forgoing the opportunity of seeing the magnificent Hampton Court, but that was the way at the Flinders' household.

However, there was one more treat for Henrietta before she left. On July 5th., Samuel came to dine and then joined his brother, Isabella and Henrietta in a visit to the famous Vauxhall Gardens, where they were highly amused and did not get home until 2 o'clock in the morning! On Sunday July 7th. the family dined at 3pm., the usual time on that day, and then Mr. and Mrs. Procter came and drank tea with them. The next day, Samuel came to dine and, with the rest of the family, saw Henrietta off from Snow Hill for her return to Donington on the Boston coach. After ten and a half weeks in London, she must have had much to tell on her arrival home.

The following week was a quiet one for Isabella, but on July 15th., she took the coach for Hackney, where she stayed four weeks, presumably with Mr. and Mrs Hoppins (Mrs. Flinders' aunt): for on August 15th., Isabella returned from there with them, but not before they had been to see Mr. Sadler go up in his balloon. Another gentleman was with him and they went aloft at 3 o'clock, gently to the E.S.E. One to two hundred thousand people had gathered to see the sight. That night it was learnt that they had descended at Tilbury. On returning to town at half past nine, a coach passed with a balloon and car on top of it. Isabella's remaining twelve days passed by without anything more unusual than evening walks along the streets and church on the two Sundays. Finally, after an early dinner on August 27th. Flinders and Mrs. Flinders accompanied Isabella to the coach station, from whence she left at 5pm. for Boston, after nearly 16 weeks in London.

The visit of Flinders' sister, Mrs. Susanna Pearson, who arrived on 23rd. October 1812, from St. Ives, must have been rather different. Flinders was even more involved in his work than in the summer of 1811 and so spared very little time indeed for his sister during her 18 day stay. Susanna, who was by then 35 years of age, had given birth to seven children, the last two of which had died young. It was not until October 29th., that her brother Samuel came to meet her and stayed to dine. The following day, there was a little dinner party for her, to which the two Franklin sisters, Sarah and Isabella together with the husband of the former, Mr. Selwood, were invited, along with Mr. Parkins. Samuel came to dine again on Tuesday November 3rd. and the next day, Flinders accompanied Susanna and Mrs. Flinders to the Grafton Street Chapel. It is tempting to think that this chapel was sufficiently way-out for Susanna's liking, bearing in mind her contributions to the little known Spiritual Magazine and her subsequently published religious essays. The only outing that Susanna could have joined, but, if so, it was not recorded, was on Sunday November 8th., when Flinders called on Mr. Favier at Sabloniere's Hotel and went with him to visit Madame Honneron at Blackheath. Flinders then called on the Astronomer Royal and obtained his permission to show the Royal Observatory to the party, afterwards returning home at 10pm. It is quite possible that Susanna preferred to spend the Lord's Day according to her religious principles. Finally, on the day of her departure, November 11th., Mr. William Pearson and Samuel came to take leave of Susanna, but Flinders, unusually, did not record anyone accompanying her to the coach station as he did, when both Henrietta and Isabella departed.

### **3. Flinders' Family Tree**

Six years in Mauritius gave Flinders much time for his own thoughts and, among them could well have been the Flinders' family history. He had not been back in London long before he found the impetus to write to the incumbent at Ruddington near Nottingham for register extracts. Noticeably, in accordance with the custom of the times, he was only interested in the male Flinders line and consequently, the Hursthouse connection - his grandmother was Elizabeth Hursthouse - escaped him, in spite of the fact that the Hursthouse family of minor Lincolnshire landowners went back to the mid sixteenth century. His request was passed to Gedling, from where the Rev. Cocker responded with register extracts back to 1609. These enquires produced a response from a certain John Flinders of

Nottingham, who came in person to visit Flinders whom the latter described as a simple man who had come on the supposition that some property was likely to devolve on him and others of that name. Flinders answered by letter on June 20th. Then on September 22nd. 1813, a Mr. Marlow called for information about Lt. Samuel Flinders of the Royal Artillery corps of gunners and drivers, whom he stated was deceased. Once again, the Nottingham Flinders expected there was something to be had as they had supposed to be the case two years earlier. Flinders did not record any action he took, but he probably did not know that this Samuel Flinders was still alive. He had in fact moved from Portsmouth to Exeter earlier that year and did not die till June 19th. 1826 aged 82. Leaving no stone unturned, Flinders called on Mr. Edmund Lodge at the Herald's Office on July 23rd. who examined the register of the college, but could find no mention of Flinders amongst English, Dutch or German families in England.

#### **4. Family Finances**

Once he got back to England, Flinders was much concerned with certain matters relative to the financial affairs of the family. Thus after only two weeks, he went with Mr. Walker of Richmond to the Bank (presumably this designation in the Journal always referred to the Bank of England) in order to transfer the £550 in the Navy 5% stock from his father's to his own name and likewise £500 in 3% consols from the names of Hursthouse and Franklin. His father had left him £600 in Navy 5% and the interest from 1802 had accumulated in the 3% consols. A week later Flinders returned to the Bank with Mr. Walker concerning Mr. Hursthouse's burial certificate and affidavit and two days later he went back to the Bank with the affidavit. On January 15th. 1811, he visited the Bank again with Mr. Walker to see how he could obtain dividends from these stocks and at the same got his step mother's and Mr. Franklin's powers registered. The next day they went again to the Bank and got these two stocks registered in Flinders' name. Flinders took the opportunity of buying £450 in Navy five's to make up £1000 in that stock.

A more protracted problem was the cottage in Donington in which Flinders' step mother had a life interest under her late husband's will. He had visited the property with her on December 3rd. and it was clear that it should be sold once the incumbent, Mr. Large, was out of it. After receiving a letter from his step mother concerning the matter, Flinders got Mr. Bonner to advertise the house and paddock in the *Stamford Mercury* and he also paid £1 for two insertions in *The Morning Post*. On March 12th., Flinders received a written enquiry from Donington and he asked for the advertisement to be continued in the Stamford paper. As a result, a letter arrived from a Mr. Lylead. Nine months later, Flinders received a letter from Mr. Gleed, concerning the difficulty of establishing title to the house. He consulted Mr. Willingham Franklin and, as a result, wrote to Mr. Smith of Horbling about the matter and received an answer on December 20th. Nine days later, a letter arrived stating that a good title of conveyance could be made out to Mr. Large. So, in the end the property was sold to the sitting tenant, after a further consultation with Mr. Franklin.

Twice, early in 1813, Flinders called on the Fleet prison to visit his half first cousin, William Flinders, held there for bankruptcy. On May 13th. 1813, Flinders went to the Exchequer Office in order to get Susanna Pearson's tontine annuity: how convenient it was then to have a brother in London. On January 3rd. 1814, he went to the Bank with Mr. Walker and transferred £320 threes into five per cents paying £8 commission, all on his step mother's account.

#### **5. Personal Finances**

These were complicated by Flinders' desire to obtain the maximum return on his capital which was invested only in gilt edged stock. Mr. Standert had always been his agent and so £150, of the money deposited with him, arising from Naval Pay being made over to the agent rather than to the officer, had been invested in 3% consols, registered in both their names. On November 13th. 1810, Flinders went with Mr. Standert to get the stock registered in Flinders' name only. Then on January 21st., Flinders went with Mr. Walker to the Bank to get the dividend on £500 consols amounting to £6 15s. As the stock was in the names of Hursthouse and Franklin and the former being deceased, the Bank required a fresh power from the survivor. Flinders wrote to Mr. Franklin, sending him a bank power of attorney to execute, and this was returned by his son Willingham coming back to London from Lincolnshire. Finally, on going to the Bank on February 4th. Flinders received the dividend due on the £500 3% consols.

On March 11th. 1811, Flinders made an affidavit of no public employment over the fourth quarter of 1810, in order that his half pay of 8s. per day, less a deduction of

10% for Greenwich and widows, could be obtained by his agent. On July 11th., Flinders went to the bank to receive some dividends and to buy some 3% consols.

On the last day of the year, Flinders, taking after his father in this respect, completed his accounts for 1811, finding his expenses to have amounted to £447, exceeding his income by £197. He concluded that the difference had been incurred in writing his voyage, doing which obliged him to live in London; whereas in the country, his income of £250 could have sufficed. On January 7th. 1812, he again called at the Navy Office to make an affidavit for the last half year's pay. Three days later, he went to the bank with Mr. Walker and received £36 in dividends on stock.

Taxation appeals were already a feature and on January 21st. Flinders went to the Commissioner of Taxes for St. Pancras in Bedford Street, to make his appeal, calling again on March 2nd. and again on March 9th. At last on April 17th., he attended the Commissioner of Appeal and received a certificate for £3 in respect of the previous year.

On April 28th., Flinders went to the Bank and transferred £2000 stock of 3% reduced and £1000 Of 3% consols plus £27. 10s. in cash, into £2000 Navy five's. On July 13th., Flinders went again to the Bank to collect £67. 10s. dividend. He also sold £2000 Navy five's and put the proceeds into £3000 of 3% reduced, gaining £15 plus £34 interest by reversing the transaction made on April 28th. On July 11th. he had been to the Navy Office to make an affidavit before Mr. Inman relative to his half pay and left the document with Mr. Standert, who would collect the money.

At the turn of the year, Flinders again made up his accounts by New Year's Day, ascertaining that he had spent £422. 3s. in 1812, some £25 less than in the previous year, but still as much as £156 over his income on account of living in London. Noticeably, his income had increased by £16 in 1812. Although he did make up his accounts on January 2nd 1814 for 1813, he did not record the figures.

On May 26th. 1813, Flinders went to the Exchequer Office and received a certificate to the Bank for £383 stock in 4%. He did not record the origin of this transaction. At the Bank, he received a draft for £26. 6s. 7d., being the interest due on the bills funded. He received further dividends at the bank on July 10th. and October 12th. On Saturday September 11th. 1813, Flinders went to the Bank and sold out his remaining Navy five's and bought reduced script. Three days later, he reversed the operation, gaining £10. On November 26th. finding himself short of cash, he went to the Bank to sell a small quantity of funds on a rapid six., returning on December 1st. to complete the transaction.

Then on December 8th. Flinders went to the Bank in order to lend Samuel £500 stock reduced and bought £5000 Omnium. On December 20th. he was again at the bank, selling 8000 Omnium bought for that day. Even after paying the broker £10, he made a gain of £47. 10s., his greatest single profit, equivalent to £1900 in 1999 values. On January 11th. he went to the Bank, expecting to buy Omnium, but could not. He called once more at the Bank, on March 3rd., without recording any transaction.

The transactions Flinders made in gilt edged stock give some indication of how private people could in his time invest their money, apart from land and houses. Banks did not have the credit worthiness now usual and while spinsters and widows would have invested through their solicitors on whose judgement they relied, Flinders was always one to avoid their fees by doing the job of investing himself, using a stock exchange broker, as a solicitor would have done. Guided by Mr. Walker, an old friend of his father's, he was a cautious investor and believed in taking a quick profit.

## **6. Promotion and Pay**

Flinders was agrieved that his promotion had been put back merely to 7th. May 1810 and he had proceeded right away in the first few weeks in London to get it put further back. At the same time he wrote to the Admiralty requesting compensation for leaving the Investigator. On November 17th. 1810, he saw Mr. Barrow at the Admiralty and learnt that he was to receive compensation pay for servants or a sum adequate. Mr. Barrow helped him in designing a Memorial to the King in Council in respect of his promotion being backdated. That evening he rewrote out his Memorial as suggested and took it to Sir Joseph the following day. Sir Joseph made some slight alterations and agreed to take the revised copy to the Rt. Hon. Charles Yorke the following day in order to get his approbation of it. So Flinders made the third revised copy and took it to Sir Joseph. On November 20th., Flinders called on Mr. Yorke, it being his levee day. He learnt that the Lords Commissioners had not thought it expedient to give him compensation for leaving the Investigator, on account of the precedent it might establish, but they had ordered £500 for his services and expenses after leaving the

Investigator. With regard to the Memorial, Mr. York was very guarded although he looked upon it favourably. Two days later, official confirmation of the £500 came in a letter from Mr. Croker. Flinders then instructed Mr. Standert as to the disposal of the money when it arrived.

It was February 18th. before Flinders saw Mr. Yorke again, by which time he decided against supporting the Memorial. Flinders argued that, had he returned in 1804, he would have been promoted from that date, rather than from six years later. Mr. Yorke then agreed to consult further with Sir Joseph and with commander Rowley. The following day Flinders called on Sir Joseph, only to find that he had already seen Mr. Yorke and had given up his case as hopeless. On March 13th. commander Rowley called only to tell Flinders that he had seen both the naval secretaries upon the antedating of his promotion and they had advised that Flinders should say no more upon the subject.

The matter did not rest there, as Captain Wilberforce M.P. took it up after seeing Flinders' narrative and proposing that he would plead Flinders' case with ministers. On June 9th. Mr. Wilberforce wrote to say that he had found Mr. Yorke dead against any antedating, but he still proposed to bring the matter before the House of Commons. Two days later, Flinders wrote to Mr. Pearce of the Admiralty and afterwards called to find out his opinion upon the expediency of bringing the case of his rank before the House of Commons. He advised against it, and Flinders, concurring, wrote to Mr. Wilberforce declining his offer for the time being. In his reply on June 18th., Mr. Wilberforce considered that the decision was the correct, although he had again tried to get Mr. York to alter his opinion, but in vain.

However, in the course of his audience with the Duke of Clarence, later William IV, on February 8th. 1812, Flinders found that some of the Duke's questions did suggest a desire to obtain for him his rank of post -captain during the time of his imprisonment in the Isle of France; but nothing more was heard of the matter.

Meanwhile, Flinders had written to the Admiralty on June 4th. 1811 asking to be paid as a commander for the time he commanded the Investigator as a lieutenant. Two days later, he received a letter from the Admiralty, complying with his request. This matter had been overlooked, surprisingly, by both parties. It arose because the Admiralty was dubious, at first, of making Flinders a commander at the age of 27, but realised before long that it was necessary to do so as he would be commanding the vessel on its exceptional voyage. In fact, he received the command of the Investigator on January 25th. 1801 and was promoted to commander on February 16th., a mere three weeks later; so the sum due to him must have been only a matter of shillings. Perhaps Flinders wanted to impress the Admiralty with the poor state of his finances.

## **6. Pursery Accounts**

Allied to Flinders financial affairs, was his responsibility for pursery accounts on the Investigator. He found on October 29th. 1810 that these were in the hands of Mr. Toulmin and he looked over them at home two days later and with Samuel's assistance on November 14th. He returned to Mr. Toulmin at 9, Duke Street, Adelphi on November 18th. Queries still remained, and on January 25th. and 31st., Flinders went to the Victualling Office concerning them. These matters took time to resolve, for he discovered that the numerous errors resulted in him being £100 in credit rather than £200 in debt, and this conclusion he made known to the Victualling officer on March 1st. Three days later, he saw both Mr. Toulmin and Mr. Marshman at the Victualling Office to get explanations for the errors. The next day he wrote to the Victualling Commission about the accounts. After one or two further visits Flinders went finally to the Victualling Office on April 11th., only to find that the accounts were going well and were likely to be settled immediately, the Victualling Boards seemingly having considered his peculiar circumstances.

The settlement of the pursery accounts may have been conditional on Flinders signing an affidavit, in reply to a letter received from the Navy Office on that day, April 11th., concerning oil purchased in Timor eight years previously. Even two months later, the Navy Office was requiring Flinders to sign certificates relative to Port Jackson bills, at the request of Mr. Edward Perkins.

## **7. East India Company Table Money**

The Company showed its interest in the voyage of the Investigator by its Court of Directors voting, in May 1801, £1200 for table money of the officers and staff. Only £600 were to be paid at the commencement of the voyage and the balance paid to the commander and officers after they had successfully accomplished the task. So as early as November 14th. 1810, Flinders called on Mr. Cotton at India House and later that day wrote to Mr. Ramsey on the matter. On January 4th., Flinders was prompted to write out a statement

as to how the £600 might be divided among himself, the men of science and the officers of the Investigator. The following day, he took this statement along to Sir Joseph for his approval, but Sir Joseph requested time to consider it. Four days later, Sir Joseph returned the statement, directing that the distribution of the £600 should be the same as with the £600 received before sailing.

The £600 must have been paid to Standert, since, on January 10th., Flinders got three orders from him of £50. 4s. cash for the three men of science. He called later that day on Messrs. Bauer and Westall and delivered them their orders together with an explanatory statement. He did not record giving Mr. Brown his order, nor when and how the balance of the money was shared out.

#### **8. Attendance to the problems of certain crew members**

Flinders commenced helping members of the Investigator's crew very soon after returning to London. Thus on October 26th., he went with Herman, his manservant from the time he left Mauritius and until he arrived back in London, to Mr. Maude's office in Great George Street in order to enable him to collect £31 and six days later, he wrote a letter for him to the captain of the Stork. While staying with the Pearsons in Boston, Flinders answered a letter from the Admiralty in respect of George Alder, carpenter's mate on the Investigator. On August 4th. 1811, Flinders went to the Navy Office to enquire about the pay of Joseph Robinett, cook on the Reliance and the Investigator and two days later he wrote a letter to the Navy Board in respect of Robinett's pay on the Porpoise. Then on September 3rd., Flinders went to the Navy Office in respect of Henry Willis, a seaman on the Investigator. Prize money from the Olympia's capture of L'Atlante amounted to £44 for Flinders, and this he passed on as promised to a young crewman on board called Croft, who had been very useful on the vessel, but had no rating and therefore no right to any prize money. Three weeks after the prize money had been declared, Croft claimed the £44 from Mr. Standert, whereupon Flinders directed Standert to pay Croft.

Continuing his assistance in 1812 to former crew, Flinders wrote on March 27th. to James Leitch, formerly of the Investigator and to Robinett to enable them to get their pay after leaving the Investigator. Then on November 18th., William Smith of the Investigator and servant to Flinders in Mauritius, called for assistance to get his wages. The following morning, Flinders went to the Navy Office to get him his pay.

It might be thought that these late payments to crewmen by the Navy was an extraordinary manifestation of incompetence. Against that, there were at that time no means of identification of such people unless they were sponsored by their commanding officer. Flinders had been out of the country for many years and when he did return, the fact took some time to be made known to them. In addition, those still employed at sea, might well have been overseas for a year or two at a time and so not in a position to have made earlier requests for payment due.

#### **9. Flinders' assistance to French Prisoners**

After members of his crew, Flinders' next thought was for the many Frenchman, particularly those from Mauritius, held prisoner by the British. On his second day in London, Flinders went to the Transport Office to obtain the addresses of prisoners for whom he had letters and some money. On November 2nd 1810, he wrote letters to some of the French prisoners and the following day he went to the Transport Office to get letters franked for prisoners whose friends he had known in Isle of France. Some of these prisoners were detained at Odiham in Hampshire and on November 11th., accompanied by Samuel, he arrived there by 8pm. and sent for three French gentlemen to come up and sup with him. To Mr. Chamisso, he gave a letter from Mr. Sodenay together with £12, the equivalent of 50 Spanish dollars he had been given; to Mr. Salacen de Kerbalance a letter and 15 Portuguese pieces of 8 dollars; to Mr. Gurel de St. Perne, his brother's letter. In addition, he sent for Madame Curtat's nephew, Edward Ossiere, recently arrived from the prison ship and gave him £10 to buy clothes. He also arranged with Raggett and Co. bankers at Odiham for the payment of £2 to Ossiere on the first day of every month. Flinders had the four French gentlemen to breakfast the next morning, when they could scarcely thank him sufficiently for all he had done for them. Flinders left the town at 10am. to get back to London by post chaise to Hartford Bridge, changing there to stage coach for town, arriving at 8pm, finding that the excursion had cost him £5

On November 19th. Flinders went to the Transport Office concerning Mr. Baudouin and the prisoners at Odiham. A Mr. Edward Merle at Morton Hampstead had written via the Transport office requesting his assistance. The following day, Flinders left three

letters for prisoners at the Transport Office. Prisoners returned to his attention after Flinders' six weeks in Lincolnshire and on January 25th., he went to the Transport Board relative to Chamisso and Millet. On February 19th. he wrote letters to Monsieur Baudrain at Peebles, Ossiere at Odiham and Merle at Moreton Hampstead, as well as writing to the Admiralty asking for the liberation of five prisoners belonging to the Isle of France.

Then on March 11th., Flinders wrote to the Transport Board seeking to obtain permission for Mr. Chamisso four months leave to go to France. The Board replied by return refusing the permission sought and Flinders advised Chamisso accordingly. Having received no reply from the Board to his letter of February 19th. Flinders saw both Mr. Pearce and Mr. Borrow at the Admiralty, on June 10th., only to find that his letter had stopped in the Secretary of State's office, but Mr. Barrow promised news shortly. Three days later, Flinders heard from the Admiralty that it had ordered the Transport Board to permit the five prisoners to go to the Isle de France on their parole. He then wrote to Ossiere, Merle and Cere to inform them. Then on June 17th., the Transport Board informed Flinders that it had told the five that they may go on the transports, but must pay for their own food. So Flinders wrote to captain Patton, agent of Transports at Portsmouth, requesting him to favour the five for places on the cartels returning to Isle de France. Realising that Ossiere and Merle would have no means to pay for their food, he wrote to Mr. Henckel to ask him to suggest persons who would advance the necessary money to Ossiere and Merle. On June 24th., Flinders learnt from the Transport Office that the three from Odiham had not been able to go on the cartels as 100 guineas each were demanded for food, but that they were now to go on the Helen, sailing shortly where food would be found for them.

On September 30th., Flinders received a letter from Mons. Roux, informing him of the bad treatment the prisoners, had received from captain Tower, on the prison ship, General Wellesley, but which Sir Roger Curtis had caused to cease in part. Flinders replied to Mons. Roux and wrote to Sir Roger. Four days later, Flinders received several letters from the prisoners, all complaining of ill-treatment, so he went down to the Transport office, where he found that Commissioner Bowen was about to go down to Portsmouth to make enquiries. On October 15th., a further letter arrived from Mons. Roux, causing Flinders to engage Mr. Gosling, proctor, as defender of the cause of the prisoners against the claims of captain Tower.

Continuing with the problems of these Frenchmen, Flinders called on Messrs. Barrault and Roux in Holborn, on November 6th., and after wards on their proctor, Mr. Gosling. He also wrote to Mr. Reives of the Aliens Office for a licence of residence for Mr. Barrault

On February 4th. 1812, Flinders received a letter from M. Favier at Dartmouth, causing him to write to Mr. Reeves, superintendent at the Aliens Office, to permit M. Favier, Madame Monneron and others to come to London in order to embark for Mauritius. Although Mr. Reeves seemed to favour the request, Lord Liverpool refused to grant it on the grounds that no person coming from France or countries under its control, could be permitted to go out to the colonies.

A colonel Tyler called on July 6th. with a letter from Mr. Chamisso, whom he hoped to get exchanged for his son, a prisoner at Verdun, having been shipwrecked in the Grasshopper off the coast of Holland. Flinders promised to do all he could, but he found that he could not obtain the exchange as Bonaparte would not give up an Englishman for a Frenchman! On August 5th. Flinders received letters from Mauritius concerning young Boucherville, who also wrote from Forton prison. He took the case up with several prominent people without any result.

On January 14th. 1813, Flinders went to the Transport Office concerning French prisoners and afterwards wrote letters to M. Guillon Desbrulon, prisoner on parole at Litchfield and to Mr. Joseph Merven, on board the prison ship Kron Prinsen at Chatham. Then on April 22nd., Mr. F. Roger wrote to him after breaking his parole and being imprisoned on the Glory prison ship at Chatham. At last on May 19th., Flinders heard at the Transport Office that all prisoners belonging to Mauritius were to be set at liberty.

#### **10. Flinders' Assistance to those wishing to enter the Navy**

In addition to his concern for past crew members and French prisoners, Flinders also helped those who wished to enter the Navy. Foremost amongst these was Henry Wiles, son of Joseph Wiles, botanist on the Providence when Flinders was midshipman under captain Bligh. Flinders had kept up a correspondence with Joseph Wiles ever since the latter stayed behind in Jamaica to look after the breadfruit which the Providence had brought

from the Pacific. Correspondence between Flinders and Mr. Brown of Edinburgh, a friend of Joseph Wiles, resulted in Henry arriving from that city on August 10th. 1811. Flinders concerned himself with the boy's business for the rest of the day, in particular writing to Dr. Burney of Gosport under whom he would be given nautical training. Flinders took Henry to the Panoramias and all the family walked out in the evening with him. After going to church with Mrs. Flinders on the following day, Sunday, and dining, he was taken to Charing Cross to catch the coach for Gosport. On October 22nd, a letter from Dr. Burney praised Henry Wiles.

On December 11th. Flinders wrote to John Franklin to ask captain Walker to receive Henry on the quarter deck of the Bedford. On the last day of that year, Flinders wrote to Dr. Burney to ask for Henry to come up to town as soon as possible to fit him out for the Bedford. Two days later, he arrived, whereupon Flinders made out a list of clothes for that purpose, took him along to Mr. Bonner's with whom he would be staying and to Mr. Dixon the taylor. He also wrote to Mr. Brown of Melrose enclosing Wiles' account up to that time. On January 6th., Flinders received a draft from Mr. Brown for £50 on Henry Wiles' account. The following day, Henry dined with Flinders, who afterwards sent him back in a coach. Then on January 13th., John Franklin wrote for Henry to join the Bedford in the Downs. The next day, Flinders got Henry, his trunk and bed to the coach office at Charing Cross, from where he went back to Gosport that evening.

On October 8th. Mr. Aken, by then much recovered after leaving Mauritius in 1805, and a naval captain, called on Flinders, having arrived from Jamaica. It so happened that Mr. Walker of Richmond had a friend's son wanting to join the Navy and Flinders suggested that he should go as an apprentice to Aken.

Lastly, there was Andrew Hollingworth, whose father wanted to get him into the Navy. Flinders had met Mr. Hollingworth, a relation of Mrs. Flinders by marriage, in Hull on December 29th. 1810. In the following year, his son Andrew, who wanted to go with sea, was attending Dr. Burney's school in Gosport at the same time as Henry Wiles. On October 26th., 1811, Dr. Burney had written to say that the two boys had run away and very soon afterwards they arrived on the doorstep. Flinders sent them both back to Gosport without delay, asking Dr. Burney to forgive them this once. With his course completed, Andrew then had to get to sea. Eventually, on July 16th. 1812, Flinders went to see Mr. Kirby who had spoken to captain Fyffe of the Indefatigable, without success, to see if he would take on Hollingworth. Three days later, after Flinders' intervention, captain Fyffe agreed to take Andrew on, so Flinders wrote to his father asking that Andrew should come to town immediately. On July 24th., Mrs. Parker called with Andrew who arrived that morning from Hull. Flinders made out a list of clothes for Andrew and took him along to Mr. Allenby to be fitted out. Three days later, Flinders went with Andrew to collect his clothes and brought him back to dinner. Captain Fyffe had meanwhile written to ask for Andrew to join him at Portsmouth, and Flinders was thus able to see him off for Portsmouth on July 28th.

The above three cases indicate the importance in those times of having a personal sponsor for entry into the Navy. It was Flinders who persuaded captain Fyffe to take Hollingsworth and, of course it was John Franklin, a midshipman on the Investigator and a relative of Flinders' step mother, who got Wiles on to the Bedford. As for Flinders himself, it was his first cousin Henrietta Flinders who, as governess to captain Pasley's family, facilitated his entry as a lieutenant's servant on October 23rd. 1789, at the age of 15 and seven months.

#### **11. Flinders' support for Promotions in the Navy**

On November 11th. 1811, Flinders went to the Admiralty intending to apply for promotions for Samuel and young Lound and on April 2nd., he wrote to Mr. Yorke, not having been able to see him the previous day. However, eleven days later, he learnt that Samuel's promotion had been stopped on account of his court martial in the Bloodhound. He thereupon examined, with Samuel, letters and papers relative to the court martial in the hope of being able to find explanations of the circumstances which might change Mr. Yorke's decision. The next day, he called on Sir Joseph, who promised to speak to Mr. Yorke on the subject of Samuel's and young Lound's promotions. As a result, Flinders' wrote a letter to Mr. Edgcombe to be laid before Mr. Yorke, relative to Samuel's court martial. Then on April; 20th., Flinders received a note from Mr. Yorke informing him that Mr. Lound was to be promoted to lieutenant. However, in respect of Samuel, Flinders' was informed by Mr. Edgcombe on May 20th. that promotion for him was extremely unlikely.

#### **12. Flinders' parole and future employment.**

Flinders was still on parole when he arrived back in England. In spite of the war with France, postal communications between the two governments were still in place.

Two matters were thus pursued by the Navy on Flinders' behalf, namely his parole and the fate of the third log book confiscated by captain-general Decaen and never returned. A letter on these two matters was shown to Flinders on January 18th. 1811. A similar letter was sent early in March 1811 by Mr. Henry Desbassayns, who had recently come from France on his way back to Bourbon. As nothing had transpired by the beginning of November, Flinders wrote to Mr. Croker at the Admiralty; and, as a result, the Transport Board was ordered to write to the French government accordingly. Flinders wrote to the Transport Office January 8th. 1812, and called on Mr. Mcleay there on January 18th. and wrote to him on February 10th. As nothing transpired, Flinders went to see Mr. Mcleay on February 27th. At last, on April 13th., Flinders received a note from the Transport Office informing him that he had been released from his parole by the French government. The next day, the French authority arrived, 22 months after he had left Mauritius.

The missing log book, covering the Cumberland's voyage from June to December 1803, was the subject of a memorandum, which Flinders sent via Mr. Philip Desbassayns to M. Sauveget, whom he knew in Mauritius, but was then in Paris. Nothing further was heard of the log book, until it was eventually surrendered years later and deposited at the Public Record Office, where, according to Ernestine Hill in *My Love must Wait* (Angus & Robertson 1941), it was discovered in 1927 in an unclassified miscellany of old mariner's manuscripts. It is now a classified item in the Public Record Office at Kew.

When in Mauritius, Flinders had time to consider his future career. At first, he looked forward to completing his survey of the northern and western coasts of Australia and further exploration in Torres' Strait; with that in mind, he had commenced trying to learn the Malay language. Later on, he saw himself as governor of part of Australia. Then, on January 18th. 1813, having heard from Mr. Pearce at the Admiralty that captain Giffard would be resigning from being Lieut. Governor of the Royal naval College at Portsmouth, he wrote to Lord Melville, the first lord, applying for the situation. Two days later, he called on Sir Joseph, who responded by saying that he did not know of any person more suitable for the situation and he hoped Lord Melville might ask his opinion. Sadly, as Lord Melville informed him January 26th., there was no possibility of captain Giffard leaving office.

Thereafter, Flinders' health was declining and his thoughts did not envisage any future task beyond finishing his account of the Voyage.

### **13. Samuel's Employment.**

Although Samuel did not take readily to being the younger brother, Flinders was at all times concerned with Samuel's prospects. On January 19th. 1811, Samuel called to consult as to whether he should return to his economic lodgings at Jump in Devonshire. Flinders persuaded him to remain in London for a further month in view of the likelihood of his being employed a reculator of the observations taken on the Investigator.

On August 19th. 1812, Mr. Brine sent Samuel an offer to go as 1st. Lieutenant on the Success with captain Barclay. Samuel consulted his brother that day on the matter, but did not accept the offer. In fact it seems that Samuel never went to sea again; nor did he have any useful occupation once his work in recalculating the bearings taken on the Investigator had been completed.

### **14. Continuing Friendships formed in Mauritius**

Flinders was particularly keen to have correspondence with old Mauritian friends and to help them when he could. He carried out many commissions for M. Thomas Pitot and he also

enjoyed the presence of the Desbassayns brothers in London for over two years.

On April 18th. 1811, Flinders received a packet of letters from Mauritius. Those from M. Curtat and M. Pitot gave accounts of the state of the island under the change of rule and so Flinders sent them on to Mr. Yorke for his information. The first letters from Madame D'Arifat and M. Sauveget arrived two days later. Another letter from Madame D'Arifat arrived on March 2nd. 1812, having been written on November 2nd. Peace had evidently quickened the mail. Flinders replied to Madame D'Arifat on May 11th. He wrote again on February 20th. 1813, not knowing that she had died on August 9th. 1812, of which event M. Labauve informed him two months later. After receiving a packet of letters from Mauritius on March 26th. 1814, Flinders wrote his last letters in reply on April 28th., enclosing newspapers with them. By then, he could only write for half an hour at a time. Flinders' relations

with M. Thomas Pitot became quite involved. On November 16th. 1812, M. Pitot wrote with several commissions and advised that 25 silver ingots had been despatched to Mr. Main at 2, King's Road, Sloane Square. Two days later, Flinders collected 24 of the ingots in discharge

of money advanced by Mr. Henckel and himself to Edward Merle and Osserre. He found that Fishers would purchase the ingots and on November 24th. Mr. Fisher brought him £95. 16s. 6d. for 202 ounces of silver after deducting for assay and melting, thus realising 82d per ounce. The next day, he paid Henckel £37. 7s. 6d. on M. Pitot's account. The following day Flinders went into Fleet Street to purchase snuff and snuff boxes for M. Curtat.

On May 15th., Flinders received drafts from M. Pitot totalling £700, which he took to the Treasury to get them accepted. A week later he collected them accepted. On May 31st., a packet of papers arrived from M. Pitot in connection with his case against the British Government in respect of his ships taken as prizes. This Flinders took to M. Pitot's proctor, Mr. Gostling. On June 17th., Flinders received 300 silver dollars from M. Pitot, for which the silversmith gave him £86. 8s. equivalent to 80.25d per ounce. He also went to the Bank with M. Pitot's two bills, that had become due. £250 was paid out on one, but the other was objected to through the omission of a forward slash at the end of Wetherall. So he went back to the Treasury when he was informed that an order for payment would go through on the next working day, following which, Flinders returned to the Bank and received £350 for the bill which had been objected to. On July 1st. Flinders purchased 3% stock reduced with M. Pitot's money.

The civil case brought by M. Pitot commenced with the publication of his causes, of which Flinders obtained a copy on December 1st. Twelve days later, Flinders attended a consultation concerning the vessels in question at Doctors' Common and on December 15th., he went to the Treasury to hear the causes tried, but was disappointed. Then on December 20th. he paid Mr. Gostling £300 on account of M. Pitot's prize causes. On February 9th. 1814, Flinders attended at the Appeal Court before the Lords, but the case did not come in. Two weeks later, he again attended, but after waiting three hours, the case did not come up and the same occurred on March 9th. After that, Flinders was too incapacitated to attend any more.

Meanwhile, on January 15th. a further letter of commissions arrived together with 35 pieces of gold for M. Le Moules. On February 9th. Flinders went to the Treasury with a bill from M. Pitot and called for it on February 13th. Four days later, he went to Leicester Square on M. Pitot's business. On February 22nd. Flinders ordered a harp for M. Pitot at Clementi's. On March 26th. Flinders wrote to M. Le Cornee and to Henckell and Dubuissons on M. Pitot's business. Two days later, he went with M. Le Cornee to see the harp, which was destined for Madame E. Pitot.

At this point, the onset of his illness prevented Flinders from carrying out the outstanding commissions for M. Pitot. No record was made as to whom was substituted in this respect. Flinders must have welcomed the tasks as a means of repaying M. Pitot for all the help he had received from him in the Isle of France. M. Pitot would not have received Flinders' last letter, despatched on April 26th. 1814, informing him of his stricken state, until the end of August at the earliest; while knowledge of his death would have been known only four or five months later, indicating the difficulty of doing business with London then from an outpost of the Empire.

The first of the Desbassayns to arrive was Henry on his way from France to Bourbon. He called on Flinders on March 6th. 1811 and six days later, Flinders visited him and his wife. The couple were invited to drink tea and pass the evening on March 22nd. along with other guests. Meanwhile, commander Rowley had gone himself to Lord Liverpool, colonial secretary, and obtained permission for Henry Desbassayns to go out to the Cape immediately. Flinders wrote his letters for Mauritius and took them to M. Desbassayns who was setting off for Portsmouth early on April 2nd.

By November, Mr. Philip Desbassayns was in Paris and Flinders wrote to him on November 11th. In his reply on January 9th. 1812, he requested Flinders to get him a licence, from the Board of Trade, to go to Mauritius. Flinders approached Sir Joseph on the matter, since he was a member of the Board. Five days later, Sir Joseph had to tell Flinders that the licence could not be granted. Nevertheless, on May 12th., Flinders heard that Pann Desbassayns, his wife and brother Philip were coming over to England from Paris. Accordingly, Flinders went to the Aliens Office with Mr. Dorr, the Desbassayns' contact in London, to obtain passports for them on their arrival. These were not available by the time Mr. Pann Desbassayns arrived in Margate Roads and on June 5th. Flinders was informed at the Alien Office that the passports had not been granted. The Desbassayns remained at Greenwich, awaiting permission to come to London. Flinders made further calls on the Alien Office and then on June 27th., he found Mr. Pann Desbassayns calling on him. The family were staying at Sabloniere's Hotel and there Flinders called and, taking Pann back to London

with him, they looked at a house for him and his wife to lodge and board at three guineas a week. This house they must have taken, for Flinders and Mrs. Flinders called there on July 2nd. and the Desbassayns returned the call two days later. Meanwhile, Philip stayed on at the hotel, but called on Flinders on July 10th., requesting a testimony of the conduct of his family at Bourbon to aid his application to the government to withdraw his property from Mauritius to France. Flinders obliged promptly, but on August 8th. he learnt that permission had been refused.

The two brothers and Madame Pann Desbassayns had dined with the Flinders on July 8th. Mr. Philip Desbassayns invited Flinders to dine at Sabloniere's on September 7th., where he was joined by Messrs. Dorr and Sheef, Americans, and Sartorius, Swiss. Mr. & Mrs. Pann Desbassayns often used to call and on October 20th. Flinders had a grand dinner party for the two brothers, Dr. and Mrs. Dale, Mr. Brown, captain Aken and Samuel. On November 23rd. Flinders called on Mr. Philip Desbassayns, who had been very ill. He afterwards moved to 28 Mortimer Street, where Flinders called on him on February 28th. 1813, when he heard that the negotiation for the exchange of prisoners, for which he had come to England, had broken down. Meanwhile, Flinders had had a letter from Charles Desbassayns, his best friend in Mauritius, still in Bourbon. Mr. and Mrs. Philip Desbassayns called on May 3rd. and on May 6th. Flinders presented Mr. Philip to Sir Charles Blagden, one of the Secretaries at the Royal Society. Flinders gave a small dinner party on May 18th., for Mr. Desbassayns, the Rev, J.S. Clarke, Mr. Riley and Samuel.

With the knowledge that all prisoners were to be released, Flinders called on Mr. Pann Desbassayns on May 26th., with the list of Mauritian prisoners. The Desbassayns continued to call occasionally, but when they did so for the last time before Flinders became ill, in the evening of November 1st., they only stayed a short while. Flinders continued to call, making his last call on December 19th. but did not record which brother he saw. Another letter from Charles Desbassayns arrived on February 2nd. 1814

Mr. Desbassayns resumed calling on Flinders on April 29th. and again on May 11th. On May 27th., he called for the last time before going to France. The Desbassayns family had shown great interest and respect for Flinders when he was in the Isle of France and their friendship was well maintained during their three years in England. Flinders did not record whether he continued speaking to them in French: it would be nice to think that that had been the case.

### **15. London Lodgings**

After eleven days at the Norfolk Hotel, which cost Flinders £17. 10s., he took lodgings with Mrs. Major by then a widow, at 16, King Street Soho for two guineas a week. Almost two weeks after returning from Lincolnshire, the Flinders moved to lodgings for the same money at 7, Nassau Street, Soho. After one week there, Flinders arranged with the landlord, Mr. Hyde, a jeweller, for him to find fires at a revised rent of £2. 10s. per week, subject to one month's notice of leaving.

As the year wore on, Flinders realised that he must reduce his expenses and, as a result, he took lodgings with Mrs. King at t7, Mary Street, New Road, for £90 per annum, a saving of £19 per annum. Having to give a month's notice to Mr. Hyde, they moved in exactly sixth months before Anne was born, on September 30th., paying 25/- to the carrier. The attraction of Mary Street was its proximity to the country, being close to the fields looking to Highgate and Hampstead. Of the six different lodgings they had, the Flinders were longest at Mary Street, but eventually they came to disapprove of the conduct of the landlady and some of her lodgers. So on March 3rd. 1813, they agreed with Mr. and Mrs. Thompson of 45, Upper John Street, for the first and second floors with kitchen at £95 per annum. Flinders admitted that the rent was £5 per annum over that of Mary Street, but the furniture was new, the rooms larger, and the owners respectable. They moved in on March 30th., to find their bed, none in later years. On January 29th. he received a leash of partridges from Mr. Bowles, an old schoolfellow, by then an attorney in Boston, but he gave it to Mr. Pearce at the Admiralty. On February 23rd. he received a ham and a hare from Mrs. Carr, his maternal aunt. Then on March 22nd, Flinders went down to Dice Quay enquiring about the arrival of the Bra

dford from Hull, which was bringing him a ham and a turkey from Mr. Newbald, his half brother in law, of Hull. A ham and a cheese arrived ten days later kring up and unpacking his books. All the rest was left to Mrs. Flinders and the living-in maid. No reasons were recorded for the last two moves, but by then, Flinders was beginning to be overwhelmed by his work. It is noticeable that although being on the edge of town at Mary Street, was much appreciated,

it was just too far away from all the offices which Flinders visited by foot and out of the way also for visitors. At first Flinders had welcomed this latter aspect, but, perhaps the novelty wore off.

In contrasting the rents paid with those applicable 120 years or so later, when prices were still consistent, it must be recollected that however well furnished the lodgings were, there was no running water, hot or cold, and lighting was by oil lamps and candles. All heating was by coal which the maid had to carry upstairs in addition to water for ablutions. To avoid bathing at home, Flinders took a tepid bath on March 4th. 1811 at the Charing Cross Baths, which he had only discovered five days earlier, and for which he was charged 4/-. After that, he took cold baths at home, noting four such occasions in both 1811 and 1812, but on July 14th. 1813, he took a warm bath in his Upper Fitzroy Street lodgings. Dinner was at 5pm on weekdays, followed later by tea drinking. On Sundays, dinner was at 3pm. and a light supper was taken in the later evening.

#### **16. Food and Drink.**

Flinders made few references to food in his Journal. He received many welcome items from Lincolnshire and Hull throughout 1811, but recorded none in later years. On January 29th. he received a leash of partridges from Mr. Bowles, an old schoolfellow, by then an attorney in Boston, but he gave it to Mr. Pearce at the Admiralty. On February 23rd. he received a ham and a hare from Mrs. Carr, his maternal aunt. Then on March 22nd, Flinders went down to Dice Quay enquiring about the arrival of the Bradford from Hull, which was bringing him a ham and a turkey from Mr. Newbald, his half brother in law, of Hull. A ham and a cheese arrived ten days later from Hull. Next, on August 28th. Mr. Bowles called with a present of grapes. From Donington there came a goose on November 13th. and on December 4th. Mr. Lound of Spilsby, Flinders' schoolmaster at Donington, sent a present of game. Finally, on Christmas Day 1811, a goose and another turkey were received from Lincolnshire friends. Flinders responded by despatching three barrels of oysters on Christmas Eve as presents to his relatives.

Among other references to food and drink, Flinders noted on January 24th. 1811 that he had bought good port at 3/9 per bottle; at Sunday supper, porter was usually drunk. On Good Friday, 1811, he remarked *as in duty bound, breakfasted off hot cross buns, one a penny*. In the last reference, Flinders noted that the very fine September in 1813 was particularly favourable for the abundant harvest. Clearly, the corn had been reaped and had, by September 21st., been well dried out in the blazing sunshine prior to being carted and stacked.

#### **17. Dinner Parties**

The importance of dining, both as host and as guest, was impressed on Flinders during his time in the Navy and in Mauritius. Samuel dined 72 times at the Flinders' household, often when other guests were present. There was a gap of four months early in 1813 when he was away in Lincolnshire, but otherwise the occasions were spread evenly throughout the period until the last on February 21st 1814, just before Flinders became acutely ill.

Altogether, some 36 other guests came to Flinders' table, apart from his three relatives who each stayed several weeks in the lodgings. Among those from the Investigator, were Messrs. Brown, Bauer, Westall, Aken and Fowler. Lincolnshire Flinders' relatives included Mr. & Mrs. Newbald, Charles Hursthouse, William and Willingham Franklin, Mrs. Procter, and George Pearson, who came on April 4th. and April 7th. 1811. Among Mrs. Flinders' relatives were the Hippines family, Mrs. Hollingsworth and her son. Of the other guests, most dined only once or twice, apart from M. A. Roux, who came to London on business and dined with the Flinders five times between October 1811 and January in the following year.

Flinders, usually unaccompanied by Mrs. Flinders, dined at some 30 homes in London in the course of 50 occasions in all. Only seven of these were in 1813 and none were in 1814. The two most notable invitations were to the home of Sir Joseph and Lady Banks on February 2nd. 1811 and December 13th. 1813. Among naval officers, Flinders dined with Mr. York, the first Lord of the Admiralty, the Right Hon. Lord Radstock, and captain Aken. He was also entertained to dinner by Mr. Westall, Mr. Brown, the botanist, and Mr. Bauer, all of the Investigator. Mr. Standert, his agent, and Mr. Nicol the publisher were also hosts to Flinders. Among relatives, the Hippines family and Mr. and Mrs. Procter entertained Flinders and Mrs. Flinders on several occasions.

Noticeably, Flinders was never invited to naval occasions at Greenwich or elsewhere. Generally, he despaired at drinking more than a moderate amount and so would not have appreciated over indulgency. He always tried be home well before midnight, perhaps on account of the painstaking tasks that would confront him the next day in conjunction with writing up the Voyage.

On thirty occasions, Flinders attended Sir Joseph's Sunday evening conversaciones, which gave him the opportunity of meeting a wide range of gentlemen interested in science, exploration and hydrography, as well as selected craftsmen like Mr. Nicol, the publisher. In Sir Joseph's rather grand house in Soho Square, these occasions must have been quite inspiring. Flinders, however, seemed to restrict himself to the people he knew, rather than making fresh friends. Publication of the Voyage must have constantly dominated his mind, and most of the those he knew were aiding him in that purpose. One can visualise the set up, the sumptuous apartments full of the standing guests, Sir Joseph prominently seated with people almost queuing to speak to him as they waited to be called to join the intimate circle. January 30th. 1814 became the last time that Flinders was able to attend. He exhibited Plate 4, which seemed to be much appreciated.

#### **18. Attendance at Church**

Mrs. Flinders aimed to go to church every Sunday, but Flinders usually only recorded the fact when he had accompanied her, which he did on at least 45 occasions, the last being on December 19th. 1813. A number of venues were selected including some chapels which may have been outside the mainstream Church of England, since the Flinders were clearly not high church. These chapels included the Foundry Chapel, West St. Chapel, Tottenham Chapel and Grafton Street Chapel. On one occasion, when Isabella and Henrietta were with them, they attended at St. Clement's. When Flinders did not go himself, either Mrs. Flinders was unwell, or he preferred to get on with his writing. Interestingly, after attending church on June 21st 1812, Flinders made one of his few comments:*an excellent sermon from Mr. Hyiatt on brotherly love.*

#### **19. Visits to Exhibitions & Meetings, Evening Walks and Games.**

On May 2nd. 1811, Flinders went with Dr. Dale to the anniversary of the Literary Fund. Lord Chichester was in the chair and after dinner and a few toasts, Mr. Fitzgerald recited a poem of his adapted for the occasion. Mr. Brown followed by reciting a piece from Mr. Boveoiuen. Finally, Mr. Shield and his party sang a Glie. Flinders left soon after 9pm., having very much enjoyed the entertainment. During the remainder of the month and throughout June, Flinders enjoyed many outings with Mrs. Flinders, Henrietta and Isabella as already described.

After an inactive three months, Flinders, accompanied by Mrs. Flinders and the Barrault family, went to India house, where Mr. Bonner took them round in order to see the natural curiosities of India and China. Then, during Isabella's visit for the birth of Anne, Flinders took her to see the Noumachia, an ingeniously mechanised exhibition of the sea fights of Trafalgar and the Nile. After the christening, they all went to see Bullock's Museum and Panthenon, a fine collection, well displayed, of natural history. Two days later, Flinders accompanied Mrs. Flinders and Isabella as they visited Mr. Westall's gallery of paintings, among which there must have been many of Australia.

The next outing was not until November 8th. 1812, when Flinders took a party round the Greenwich Observatory, by permission of Mr. Pond, the astronomer royal. On February 24th., 1813, Flinders took Mrs. Flinders to see the Gallery of paintings in Pall Mall and they went back there on June 2nd. to see the paintings of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Finally, on July 7th.they walked out in the evening to see the illuminations, of which those of the Horse Guards were particularly brilliant. That turned out to be their last excursion together, apart from a walk in the evening on September 26th.

Earlier, on July 5th. Flinders had his most prestigious evening, when he dined at the St. Albans Navy Club. He had been elected a member on the proposition of the Rev. John Stanier Clarke, the perpetual vice president. The members present included:

H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence (in the chair)  
Admiral Sir C. Hamilton  
Sir R. Strachan  
Sir Edward Buller  
Captain the Hon. Courtney Boyle  
The Hon. E. Dawes-Rood  
Mr.E. W. Kin

Mr. Hatley  
Mr. Wise  
Lt. Mark Kerr  
Mr. John Baker

To join and attend this august society, Flinders had to pay the annual subscription of one guinea and 28/- for the dinner. However, he returned home a little before midnight, tolerably well satisfied with the event, not realising that he would never again attend.

Throughout 1811, Flinders attempted to introduce to his family the games he had learnt to play in Mauritius. He commenced by teaching Samuel tric-trac in January, but the lessons were not followed up apart from one evening in March. His attempts at chess with Ann over five evenings in March were more successful, but were only followed by a further five evenings in the remainder of the year. On May 9th. he played with Isabella and there was chess again on June 7th. and 8th., when Samuel called. Dining with Mr. and Mrs. Henckle on September 11th., the party played at billiards, for Flinders, the first time since 1803. The last evening with games came on October 28th. 1811, when Flinders played chess with Ann. After that, her thoughts were with Anne and his with the writing of the Voyage.

Nevertheless, walking out along the streets, round the squares and in the parks during the long summer evenings, came to be a much practised relaxation, particularly in 1811 and 1812. It was free of cost, an important feature for a family living beyond its small income and it provided a welcome relief to Flinders after many hours of writing. The presence of Henrietta and Isabella prompted the first such walk on May 13th. 1811. The walks for them must have been their opportunity, well attired in their smarter clothes, to absorb the atmosphere of London. Altogether, 20 walks were made before moving to Mary Street at the end of September. On October 11th., the walk, by then in the middle of the day, took them into the fields at the back of the street. Flinders, a countryman, must have appreciated the rural surroundings. A further walk was taken on November 7th. and in the New Year, four walks were made between February 18th. and March 12th., three weeks before the birth of Anne. Evening walks resumed on May 6th. and 13 were made. On June 11th. the walk was to Primrose Hill to see the haymakers and on September 14th. the last walk in the fields was made; by April 1813, their lodgings were back in the centre of London. The first evening walk was taken on April 9th. and on April 15th, they walked to Camden Town. In all, only five walks were made in 1813: as the summer wore on, Flinders' infirmities began to tell, although he had walked to Hackney on June 28th. in order to join Mrs. Flinders for dinner at the Hippins'.

In 1814, Flinders found walking increasingly difficult. On March 20th., the surgeon had advised a walk, and Flinders was out for an hour, but moving very slowly and two days later, he walked to Soho Square, but the return was made in much pain. His last walk was probably made on April 7th., but he returned in twenty minutes as the pain came on.

## **20. Communications**

When Flinders posted his first letters after arriving he noted that there were general and 3d. posts, presumably second and first class respectively. The post between main centres within 150 miles of London seems to have been consistently rapid, making it possible to receive a reply on the third day. From and to London, mail coaches would leave at varying hours between 5pm. and midnight, depending on the distance to be covered, and reached their destination the following morning by travelling throughout the night. The volume of mail was, of course, very small, but this enabled great care to be given to each item and it followed that sorting and delivery in urban areas could be promptly carried out.

Communications with Mauritius were another matter. Although the island was captured on December 3rd. 1810, the news did not reach London till February 13th. 1811, a length of time comparable with the 47 days the Olympia cutter took to reach Spithead from the Cape with Flinders on board, while regular sailing ships would take four or five months from Mauritius.

Letters for Flinders, written in 1802/1805, addressed to Port Jackson and arriving after he had left in 1803, were only discovered lying in Mr. Toulmin's office on June 15th. 1811! Likewise, a letter from Mrs. Flinders dated 1808 addressed to Flinders only came back with a packet of letters from Mauritius that arrived on March 21st. 1811.

Interestingly, on a packet of letters Flinders received from France on March 22nd. 1813 to be forwarded to Mauritius, the onward postage was 6/5d.

The trunk that went on the boat to India as Flinders left Mauritius in June 1810 only came back to London early in October 1811. More remarkable was the time taken to for the trunks from the Olympia to arrive in London. It was not until January 21st 1811 that

some came from Woolwich and those containing all his books only arrived from Chatham on February 27th., four months after he had landed.

In respect of London transport, Flinders noted on January 20th. 1811, that, after visiting the astronomer royal in Greenwich, he found it difficult to get back until 10pm. as all the stages were full earlier, it being a Sunday. The long distant coaches ran on time, and it was advisable to book in advance as Flinders nearly always did for himself and his relatives. Travel never stopped for nightfall and this must have given rise to many uncomfortable journeys. On the other hand, long stops were made for breakfast, lunch and dinner as on the Flinders' return to London from Barton on Humber.

The use of sailing vessels on the Thames, such as the one Flinders' party caught to Chelsea on returning from Richmond, and for the ferry between Hull and Barton on Humber, must have been somewhat precarious as regards time of arrival. The skilled use of sailing dingies to reach a vessel moored in the harbour would have been seen as somewhat hazardous by later generations used to motor launches. The liberated prisoners who left Mauritius for England via the United States faced nine months or so of very crowded quarters, awful food and possible shipwreck.

In another sense, Flinders was involved in transport by being invited on March 24th. 1812 to attend the Transportation Committee of the House of Commons. Flinders went along the next day when he was asked for his views on the extent of country fit for colonisation in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, having regard to communications between the settlements, the harbours, climate and natives. Flinders opted for the south end of Van Dieman's Land, what is today the part of Australia most appreciated by English people.

On January 6th. 1813, Flinders received a paper from Sir Joseph giving the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General upon the carrying of slaves from one island to another. Flinders immediately wrote to M. Pitot with the substance of the paper. Apart from these two matters, and, of course, the magnetism of ships, Flinders' experiences did not seem to have been of interest to government.

#### **21. Mrs. Flinders' Health.**

Flinders had only been back in England four weeks when Mrs. Flinders was ill with a sick headache. This malady struck her a score of times in the following years, but generally only persisted for one or at the most two days. Unfortunately, the next occasion was during the stay in Enderby with the Franklins. Further bouts followed on January 5th. and 10th, February 22nd. and March 6th. and 8th. A bad cold followed on March 24th./25th. On May 24th. Mrs. Flinders became unwell; Dr. Dale was requested to attend and he prescribed for her on May 30th. and 31st. Her health then improved over the following two days.

On June 12th., Mrs Flinders had a bad headache and again on June 30th., on which occasion Flinders described it as *her usual bilious headache*. On September 15th., she had a cold and was again unwell on September 24th./25th. On October 6th., she was very ill with a suppression for which Mr. Adams, the apothecary, found it necessary to apply a catheter that day and on two days later, after which she was better, until she had a cold on December 8th. In the weeks before the birth of Anne, Mrs. Flinders was only unwell with pains on February 18th. and 25th. The birth on April 1st., must have occurred without undue difficulty, despite her recorded fears on account of her age. Isabella was, of course, in attendance and it is possible that Flinders was not kept informed.

There followed three months without ailments, but on July 9th., Mrs. Flinders became unwell and then again on October 12th. On December 13th, she had a cold and on January 3rd. 1813, she was again unwell. Two weeks later, she was taken very unwell, being threatened with a miscarriage. Further reference to this was not made by Flinders, but it presumably related to a second conception. On March 28th., she was unwell just two days before moving to Upper John Street. Then on Monday April 12th., her bad headache prompted Flinders to conclude that the symptoms came every two or three weeks and usually on Mondays, following supper with porter on Sunday. Not surprisingly, the next occurrence was on Monday May 3rd., but the following one was on Sunday July 25th.! On August 15th., both Mrs. Flinders and Anne were unwell and Mrs. Flinders was ill in bed on February 21st 1814; no symptoms were recorded for these last two bouts.

Although Mrs. Flinders was so often indisposed, her health never seemed to be a matter of real concern and that is confirmed by the fact that she outlived her husband by nearly forty years. It is likely that the extent of her indispositions was not abnormal for ladies of her age in those days.

## 22. Flinders' Health and Decline

Flinders had had a few instances of passing 'gravel' while in Mauritius, but they never persisted for very long. Back in England, the first attack, which was slight, came on February 9th. 1811, accompanied by fever and shivering. On November 1st., he had another slight attack, this time with a cold. Two colds, on January 9th. 1813 and March 25th. took their course without mention of gravel.

The real change for the worse came on February 27th. 1814, the day prior to moving to Fitzroy Street, when Flinders acknowledged that he had been troubled for some months by his gravelly complaint. Mr. Hayes, the surgeon, had called three days earlier and he called again on March 2nd. This was the beginning of the end for Flinders. Mr. Hayes came regularly from then on, but, of course, was unable to make the correct diagnosis and, if he had, he would not have been able to provide the cure that is available today. Meanwhile, Flinders worked on, striving to finish his great task as his working time decreased while the days and weeks went by. By dint of great determination, he even managed to look for errata on May 26th. and 27th., and finished the final examination of the proof sheet of the *Gulph of Carpentaria* on May 26th. There followed 53 days of complete incapacity apart from writing up his Journal, in the same clear hand, until nine days before his passing. The last entry was brief and to the point: *Sunday 10th. Did not rise before two, being I think, weaker than before.*

There is no alternative to reading the Journal in the original for understanding the torments that Flinders underwent in those last four and a half months. The Journal entries from March 26th. are considerably longer than those just previously as he recorded the finest details of his altered existence and the remedies he was instructed to take. His mathematical precision shows itself throughout in his observations on his bodily excretions and his strict adherence to the prescriptions he was given. Mr. Hayes and Dr. Marcet, the physician, could do nothing that would substantially affect the course of the disease, but both of them were probably inured to the fact that so often they could not prevent the death of the relatively young. So it would seem as if they went on blindly prescribing changes in their innocuous prescriptions without informing the patient that they were unable to do anything really worth while, while probably preparing Mrs. Flinders for the widowhood that awaited her.

The one aspect of the terminal illness which deserves particular notice is the prescription record. Flinders commenced taking calcined magnesia early in March, beginning with one teaspoonful each evening, increasing up to four teaspoonfuls per day. From March 26th. he drank a quart of distilled water every day. From April 6th., 12 grains of citric acid replaced the magnesia, increasing to 18 grains from April 7th. Barley water with gum Arabic was drunk from April 9th. On April 12th., the citric acid was replaced by 13 drops of muriatic acid, increased to 20 drops and then 23 drops on April 19th. The muriatic acid was dropped from May 7th. A week later soda water was prescribed by Dr. Marcet, and the following day the syrup of white poppies was proposed. On May 16th., Mr. Hayes and Dr. Marcet in a joint visit prescribed Seltzer water at the rate of one pint per day, while still continuing with barley water and gum Arabic. On May 23rd., Mr. Hayes arranged for Mr. Cline to call. He directed Flinders to take *uva ursi*, up to three drams in a camphor mixture with increased intake of Seltzer water. After passing water 52 times in the 24 hours on June 8th., Mr. Hayes, after consulting Mr. Cline, advised a strong decoction of the beards of leeks. By June 19th. Flinders was taking *uva ursi* and leek water three times a day and Seltzer water twice. Meanwhile, he had suffered from purging from June 16th. and had to resort to opium pills inserted into the anus to relieve the pain. From July 4th. the leek water was omitted and, finally, on July 8th., Dr. Marcet recommended Iceland Moss.

In the course of the final four months, Flinders had many visitors witnessing his sad decline. On March 1st., Mr. W. Franklin was the last guest to dine with the Flinders. Thereafter, Flinders recorded 25 occasions when friends and relatives called. The most frequent visitor was Mr. Brown, the botanist. On May 30th. Mr. Exshaw of Mauritius called prior to returning there and also on that day Mr. Brown came for two hours while Flinders laid upon the sofa. Captain Fowler had been on April 17th. and Mr. Westall came on May 1st. Mr. Desbassayns came on April 29th. and May 27th., and with Mrs. Desbassayns on May 16th. Flinders' half sister Henrietta brought her cousin Henrietta Franklin along on April 24th. and her husband, Mr. Chambers, as well on the following day. On April 30th., Mr. and Mrs. Chambers came and drank tea, previous to going to Sheffield. Even Mr. Stuart called on May 19th. On June 24th. Mr. Joseph Dodd, Flinders half brother in law, came and, finally, Mr. W. Franklin called on June 26th. on his return from Lincolnshire.

As grief compounded, the ever faithful Isabella Tyler arrived on June 28th. to help Mrs. Flinders with the nursing while little Anne was ill with measles. Isabella stayed for several weeks and was the first to cast her eyes on the life-departed body of Matthew Flinders in the early hours of the morning of July 19th. 1814. as depicted in her own words reproduced in *Letters to Ann* (Angus and Robertson 1999)

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### **Glossary**

Barouche	4 wheeled carriage for four plus driver
Bourbon (island of)	Reunion
Brig mast	2 masted square rigged vessel with fore and aft sails on main
Chaise	4 wheeled travelling carriage for one or two ponies
Curricle	2 wheeled two horse carriage
Capstan	Revolving barrel for winding cable in
Dipping needle vertical of the earth's	Magnetic needle mounted so as to be capable of moving in a plane and thus indicating by its dip the direction magnetism
Frigate	Warship next in size to ships of the line
Hackney coach	Coach for hire
Iceland Moss	Edible liverwort from Iceland
Leaguer	127 gallons
Muriatic acid	Hydrochloric acid
Post chaise & stage coach	Travelling carriage hired from stage to stage
Rix dollar (silver)	Of value 4/6 to 2/3
Snatch block rope	Block with hole on one side to receive the bight or loop of a
Spanish dollar	Equals one U.S. dollar
Tontin annuity subscribersas	Loan or fund paying increasing annuities to remaining they become fewer
Uva ursi	Astringent tonic extracted from the trailing bear berry plant.

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